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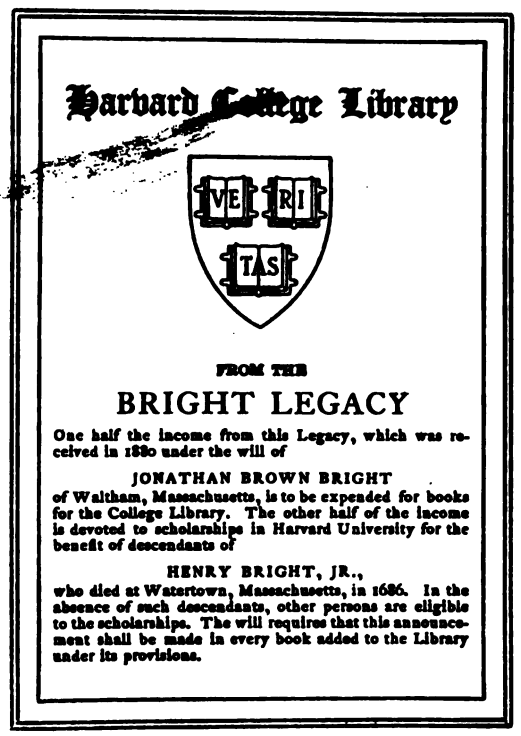
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CAPE COD

THE RIGHT ARM OF MASSACHUSETTS

AN HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

By CHARLES F. SWIFT,

AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF OLD YARMOUTH."

"Cape Cod is the bared and bended arm of Massachusetts; the shoulder is at Buzzard's Bay; the elbow or crazy bone at Cape Mallebarre; the wrist at Truro; and the sandy fist at Provincetown—behind which the state stands on her guard."—HENRY D. THOREAU.

YARMOUTH:
REGISTER PUBLISHING COMPANY
1897.

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THE AUTHOR TO THE READER.

HAT Cape Cod is the Right Arm of Massachusetts, was not said with reference alone to its physical characteristics. Regard, undoubtedly, was had to the important and beneficent transactions which had been enacted in its borders and participated in by its people. No part of the country has had a more intimate relation to the great events on this continent during the last two and a half centuries than Cape Cod and its inhabitants. It is with the purpose of bringing within the limits of a single volume a full and continuous record of the history of this people, and making our fellow-citizens better acquainted with the details of that varied and interesting story, that the author has gathered, from many sources, the scattered threads of this narrative. It begins with the signing of the Compact on board the Mayflower in Cape Cod harbor; shows the exalted character of the men who settled here; how its fisheries were taxed to lay the foundation of our common school system; how the first successful resistance to persecution for religious opinions was made by the disciples of Robinson in the case of the Quakers in our Cape towns; how her people resisted taxation without representation, and gave to the country her peerless orator and her men of valor and endurance, in the Revolutionary struggle; how in the courts of law, in the

marts of commerce, on shipboard, her citizens have stood with the wisest and bravest; how, in later time, her sons, with the same devotion to the cause of liberty and duty that distinguished their ancestors, rallied to the support of their country's flag and the defence of its honor. These things will not be set down in a spirit of boasting and vain glory, but that adequate justice may be done to the fathers, and that their posterity may be instructed and encouraged by their example.

The plan and limits of this volume necessarily exclude the presentation of genealogical details. It will be a narrative of Cape Cod as a community and as a people. The leading families, who have given it some added dignity, only serve to embody in a larger degree, the concrete characteristics of the whole. To be regarded as a good citizen of Cape Cod ought to carry with it sufficient endorsement, without the added lineage to which many of her people are entitled, of belonging to old families of the fatherland. A considerable number, however, of those who have been conspicuous for what they have done or endured, will be commemorated in biographical notices, as occasion may seem to render it appropriate.

By no means all, nor the greater proportion, of those who are natives of the Cape now live on the peninsula of their birthplace. They are found in large numbers in all the cities of the east, in the west and on the Pacific slope. And wherever they are, they have carried with them the old-time traits, and their affection for, and loyalty to, the old home by the sea.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
CHAPTER I.	
Topography and Natural Features,	1-7
CHAPTER II.	
The First Explorers,	8-18
CHAPTER III.	
The Mayflower's Company and their Explorations,	19-36
CHAPTER IV.	
The First Settlements,	37-61
CHAPTER V.	
Characteristics of the First Comers,	62-74
CHAPTER VI.	
Events Following the Settlements,	75-89
CHAPTER VII.	
The Earliest Quakers,	90-106
CHAPTER VIII.	
King Philip's War,	107-120
CHAPTER IX.	
From Philip's War to the Union with Massachusetts,	121-132
CHAPTER X.	
The Cape in the Old French Wars,	133-162
CHAPTER XI.	
Gathering of the Storm,	163-181
CHAPTER XII.	
The Revolutionary War,	182-213
CHAPTER XIII.	
From the Peace of 1783 to the War of 1812-15,	214-234
CHAPTER XIV.	
War of 1812-15,	235-252

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM WAR OF 1812-15 TO SOUTHERN REBELLION, 253-272

CHAPTER XVI.

CAPE COD IN THE REBELLION, 273-281

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM WAR OF THE REBELLION TO OUR OWN TIMES, 282-310

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FISHERIES AND WHALING, 311-320

CHAPTER XIX.

THE NATIVE INDIANS, 321-337

CHAPTER XX.

CAPE AUTHORS AND NEWSPAPERS, 338-360

CHAPTER XXI.

POPULATION, CIVIL LISTS, SOCIETIES, ETC., 361-383

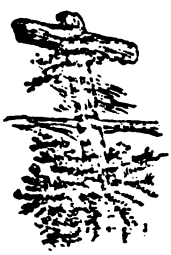
To my fellow-members of the
CAPE COD HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
who have labored with me to do justice to the memory of the fathers and mothers of Cape Cod, this recital of the history of our native county is fraternally inscribed, by
THE AUTHOR.

CAPE COD.

CHAPTER I.

TOPOGRAPHY AND NATURAL FEATURES.

Cape Cod and Barnstable County Synonymous—Incorporation of the several towns—General Formation—Soil, Forests and Flora—Native Animals, Fish and Shellfish—Difference in Northerly and Southerly Waters—Statistics and Characteristics of Population.



THE name CAPE COD was originally intended to apply to the extreme end of the County of Barnstable. In its more extended designation, it includes the entire County, with its fifteen towns, viz.: Barnstable, Sandwich, Yarmouth, inc. 1639; Eastham, 1646; Falmouth, 1686; Harwich, 1694; Truro, 1709; Chatham, 1712; Provincetown, 1727; Wellfleet, 1763; Dennis, 1793; Orleans, 1797; Brewster, 1803; Mashpee, 1870; Bourne, 1884. It is situated between 42° 3′ and 41° 31′ N. latitude and 69° 57′ and 70° 41′ W. from Greenwich, England.

It is a peninsula of somewhat irregular outline, about sixty-five miles in length on the north shore, and eighty miles on the south and east, and from three to twenty miles in breadth. Its average width is about six miles. In the interior, the land rises to the height of some two hundred feet above the sea. Scargo Hill, in Dennis, the highest point in the county, is about three hundred feet above the sea level.

According to Professor Hitchcock, former state geologist, the region is composed entirely of sand, even to the depth of three hundred feet in some places, though there is probably

a concealed core of rock a little beneath the surface; and it is of diluvian origin, excepting a small portion at the extremity and elsewhere along the shores, which is alluvial. For the first half of the Cape large blocks of stone are found, here and there, mixed with the sand, but for the last thirty miles boulders, or even gravel, are rarely met with. Above the sand, if the surface is subjected to agricultural tests, there is found to be a layer of soil of considerable thickness in the upper portion of the county, gradually diminishing from Barnstable to Truro, when it almost ceases; "but there are many holes and rents in this weather-beaten garment, not likely to be stitched in time, which reveal the naked flesh of the Cape, and its extremity is completely bare."*

The land was originally covered with wood, except in the few fields or planting grounds of the Indians, which comprised only an inconsiderable region. Archer, who wrote an account of Gosnold's voyage, in 1602, spoke of Cape Cod, which Gosnold named, as having "wooded hills;" and Captain John Smith, who was here twelve years afterwards, described it as "a headland of high hills, overgrown with shrubby pines." To the Pilgrims of the Mayflower, just from the dunes and marshes of Holland, the bay seemed "compassed about to the very sea, with oaks, pines, juniper, sassafras and other sweet wood." Of the trees that are indigenous in the county are the pitch pine and the white, in the upper towns; oak, white, red, black and scrub, sassafras, red cedar, birch, white and black, holly, somewhat scarce, ash, beach, maple, walnut, locust, in some localities. The red cedar, or savin, called by "Mourt" and other writers, "juniper," was once plentiful, but is not now so productive. Gosnold and Smith called it "cypress," but the real cypress has a different form. Wild grape vines, green briar,

*Hitchcock's Report.

Virginia creeper and ivy are shrubs found in all the region of the Cape.

The blackberry, blueberry and wortleberry are abundant in their season. The wild grape is found in the swamps and forests. The wild strawberry grows by the border of highways and in open fields. The checkerberry, sometimes known as boxberry, wintergreen or partridge berry, is abundant in the open woods.

The flora of the Cape is profuse and embraces the golden aster, golden rod, crowberry, pimpernel, violet, smilax, azalia, and the mayflower, the welcome harbinger of spring, hiding its bright blossoms and odorous breath under the covering of rough leaves. The bearberry, or hog cranberry, with evergreen leaves and bright crimson berries, covers acres on the borders of the forests with a thick carpet of foliage and fruit.

Extensive salt marshes skirt the northern and northwesterly shores of the Cape, and these were a great inducement to the early settlers, in seeking for a place of settlement. What is known as salt hay, was formerly much used by our farmers, but of late years is not so well esteemed. Within the last half century an extensive system of dyking has converted many acres into valuable fresh meadow land.

The surface of the county is dotted with hundreds of fresh water ponds, some of them containing an area of hundreds of acres. The aggregate of our fresh water acreage amounts to a fifth of that of the whole State, viz: Barnstable 8,140; Brewster 1,400; Chatham 5,960; Dennis 979; Eastham 880; Falmouth 4,838; Harwich 1,974; Mashpee, 1,420; Orleans 2,748; Provincetown 320; Sandwich (including Bourne,) 1,600; Truro 1,265; Wellfleet 4,868; Yarmouth 3,100. Total 39,492 acres.*

*Internal Fishery Commission Report.

. The shores and bays of the county abound with shellfish in great variety. Oysters were indigenous here, but by the wholesale taking of them the native variety has become scarce; when brought from abroad and transplanted, especially in regions having a flow of alternate salt and fresh water, they grow with great rapidity and of fine flavor. The *mya renaria*, soft-shell clam, is the most productive of the conchiferous family. Capt. John Smith wrote, in 1616, "You shall scarce find any bay or shallow shore or cove of sand, where you may not take many clampes or lobsters, or both, at your pleasure." Says an old writer, "The most productive land in the State is the clam flats. They cost nothing for fencing or top dressing; they are self-planting and self-supporting, and the more the soil is turned, the faster the crop matures, and the greater its abundance." Some towns annually dig and ship several thousands of bushels, besides what are consumed by the inhabitants. The *mactra solidissima*, or sea clam, sometimes called the sea hen, grows in the soft sand near the shore, or on the bars, and is caught by raking at low tides. They are much used by the winter bank fishermen, for bait. The *mesodesma aictata* is a small clam of the giant species, which is sometimes washed ashore on the Cape. The quahaug is a round, thick-shelled clam, tight as an oyster, with hard, firm flesh, greatly esteemed by epicures. The scallop, *pectrenconcentricus*, is washed ashore in abundance after severe storms, or raked from the shoal water. The eye only is eaten, and is highly esteemed. The mussel, *mytilus edulis*, is abundant, but not eaten on the Cape, though in France and other countries it is largely cultivated for food. The razor-fish (solen) is named from its resemblance in size and shape to the haft of a razor. It is said to force itself, not only upwards and downwards, but diagonally. It is

excellent eating. Cockles are also found in several varieties.

Of crustacea are the lobster, crab, horsefoot or king-crab, with which the Indians taught our fathers to enrich their corn at planting, by placing a piece in the hill, as they sometimes did fish.

There is a difference in the product of the northerly and southerly waters of the Cape. Prof. Farlow, of the U. S. Fish Commission, makes Cape Cod the dividing line between the Arctic and the Adriatic flow. Here the Gulf Stream loses its force and strikes toward the European coast. Above this line marine vegetation is of an Arctic flora, distinct in many features from that of Long Island. The difference between the flora of Massachusetts and Bazzards Bays is greater than between Massachusetts Bay and the Bay of Fundy, or Nantucket and Norfolk.

Of the fishes which are found in the waters of Cape Cod, the following list was made in 1855 by the eminent native ichthyologist, Capt. Nathaniel E. Atwood. The names by which they are known to fishermen is used, as better adapted to the comprehension of the general reader than the designations employed by scientific writers:

Striped bass, flying sculpin, deep water sculpin, Weymouth or Marblehead eel, stickleback, scapaug, common mackerel, striped bonito, horse mackerel, spotted mackerel (rare), yellow mackerel (rare), bluefish, skipjack, silverside, spotted gunnel, snake-shaped blenny (new), motella (rare), goosefish, tautog, conner, brook minnow, gasse try, bill fish, smelt, herring, blue-back herring (new), alewife, white shad, hickory shad, menhaden, cod, tom cod, haddock, pollock, American hake, whiting, flounder, deep-water flounder, halibut, American turbot, tom-spotted flounder (new), sand dob, eel, sand eel, Peck's pipe fish, sun fish, cat fish, swingle tailed shark, mackerel shark, man-eater shark

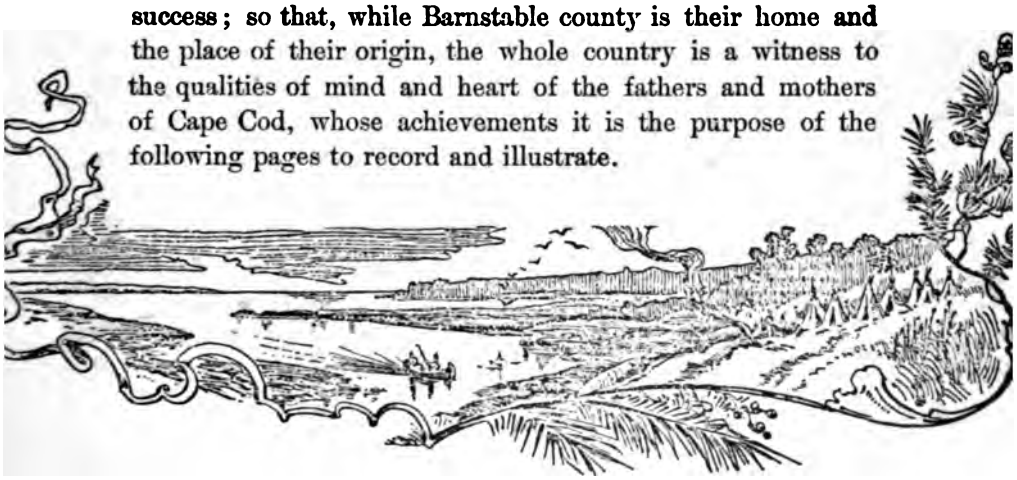
(rare), more shark, hammerhead shark (rare), blue shark, dog fish shark, skate, cramp fish or torpedo (rare), American lamprey, blueish lamprey. The ponds abound with pickerel, perch, black bass, and in the streams are trout and salmon trout (rare).

Of the wild beasts that were found in the forests of the Cape the wolf alone has been exterminated. In the early settlement of the county the people were greatly annoyed and injured by the depredations of these animals, which came by night to prey upon their cattle. Wolf traps were maintained by public charge throughout the county, and the bounties offered for their heads by the authorities at last had the effect to lead to their extermination. Red deer were also quite numerous, and owing to the protection afforded by the state, these beautiful animals are now found ranging our forests in the woods of Sandwich, Falmouth, Bourne and in some portions of Barnstable and Yarmouth. The red fox is found all over the county, and, though persistently pursued by hunters, is still apparently undiminished in numbers. The mink and the muskrat are numerous on the borders of ponds and streams; the woodcock and polecat in the fields; the striped and grey squirrel, rabbit and chipmunk in the forests. The raccoon is not so often seen, and the flying squirrel and ferret but occasionally.

Of birds, there are the fish-hawk, red-tailed hawk, the red, snow and cat-owl, which are the most common birds of prey; eagles are occasionally seen scaling the air; the omniverous birds, like the crow, bluejay, chickadee, meadow-lark, Baltimore oriole, red-winged crow, crow-blackbird, bobolink, cedar-bird, are abundant; of insectivorous birds, are the robin, pewit, bluebird, brown thrush, wood-thrush and house-wren; various specimens of the passarine species; the woodpecker and swallow of several varieties; the night-

hawk, the whippoorwill, the humming-bird. The heath-hen was formerly found here, but is now extinct, so far as this region is concerned. Quail and partridge are found in almost every forest. Woodcock and snipe are also found, and plover, curlew, heron, sand-piper, duck, brant and other water birds, are hunted on our beaches and shores.

The county contained, according to the State census of 1895, a population of 27,654 inhabitants. The females out-numbered the males by 963. The hazardous business pursuits of the people accounts in a great measure, though not wholly, for this disparity in the numbers of the sexes. Nearly 90 per cent. of the population are of native birth, and are of purer descent from the first English settlers than in any other portion of the State. With their lineage they have inherited the love of order and progress, and the attachment for free institutions, which distinguished their ancestors, and which all the subsequent generations that followed, maintained and upheld with vigor and determination. From these shores have gone forth thousands of her sons to populate and develop the communities in the West and on the Pacific slope, to which regions they have contributed some of the best elements of their progress and success; so that, while Barnstable county is their home and the place of their origin, the whole country is a witness to the qualities of mind and heart of the fathers and mothers of Cape Cod, whose achievements it is the purpose of the following pages to record and illustrate.



CHAPTER II.

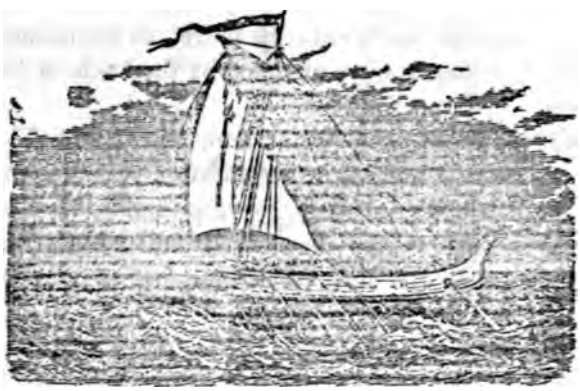
THE FIRST EXPLORERS.

Probable visit of the Northmen—Verrazzano, Allefonsce, Bartholomew Gosnold, Pring, Champlain and De Monts, Capt. John Smith, Thomas Dermer—Pestilence Among the Natives.

HISTORIANS have been accustomed to ascribe to Bartholomew Gosnold and his companions, in 1602, the first discovery and landing upon the coast of Cape Cod. But it had several times before been explored by Europeans. The Icelandic sagas furnish overwhelming evidence that the Northmen visited this coast some five centuries before the English navigator embarked on his adventurous voyage to the Western continent. The chronicles of these intrepid explorers, especially of Thorfinn Karlsefne, contain references to localities visited, which can apply to no other region of the North American coast but Cape Cod. Setting forth in the year 1006, in two ships, from Iceland to Greenland, and thence following along the coast of Labrador and Sable Island, they "sailed some time southwest with land to starboard, when they reached Kjalarnes, where were trackless and white sandy beaches, of such length as to obtain the name of Furdurstrandir" (Marvellous Strands.) Continuing their course they entered a bay, off the mouth of which was an island, past which ran a strong current, evidently Nantucket Bay and Vineyard Sound, and also sailed further

up the bay, where they landed and spent the winter. One of the ships then sailed northward, but after passing the coast of Kjlarnes, was driven to sea and landed on the coast of Iceland. The other ship sailed southwest and explored the region known to the Scandinavians as Vinland, which the best of authorities now unite in locating somewhere upon the coast of Mount Hope Bay.

The description of this coast by the historians of this voyage is startling in its reality. As to the Furdurstrandir, or Marvellous Strands, of the Northmen, they correspond



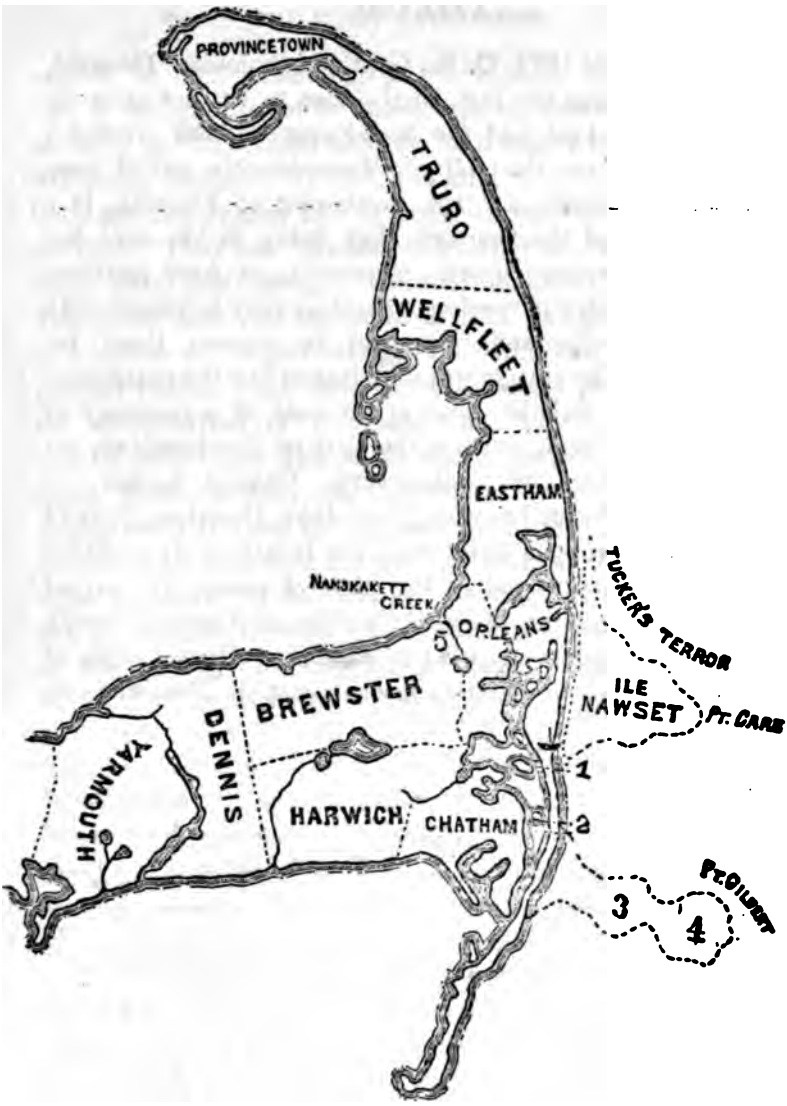
NORSE SHIP.

so exactly with the coast of the Nauset peninsula, and the Chatham and Monomoy beaches, that no description could be more accurate. Dr. Hitchcock says, speaking of this region: "The dunes, or sand-hills, which are often nearly quite barren of vegetation, and of snowy whiteness, forcibly attract the attention on account of their peculiarity. As we approached the extremity of the Cape, the sand and the barrenness increase, and in not a few places it would need only a party of Bedouin Arabs to cross the traveller's path, to make him feel that he was in the depths of an Arabian or-

Lybian desert." Prof. Rafn (of the Copenhagen Royal Society) thinks that the name of Marvellous Strands may be chiefly due to the phenomena of the mirage, witnessed there by the Northmen, and in support of this conjecture Hitchcock remarks that "In crossing the sands of the Cape, I noticed a singular mirage or deception. In Orleans, for instance, we seemed to be ascending at an angle of three or or four degrees, nor was I convinced that such was not the case, until turning about, I perceived that a similar ascent appeared on the road just passed over." If these bold navigators landed on the Cape they made no extended tarry here, and for over four centuries more, so far as any record sets forth, our waters were unvexed by the keels of European explorers.

In 1524, Giovanni Verrazzano, the great Florentine navigator, made a voyage of exploration to North America, and coasted from Cape Fear, Newfoundland, to New York Bay. In an outline map prepared by James Verrazzano in 1529, appears for the first time upon any chart of the New World an outline of the coast of Cape Cod sufficiently distinct for identification.

About 1542, Jehan Allefonsce, a French navigator, sailed down the coast from Canada, to latitude 42° north, and "entered a great bay," the end whereof he did not reach. Allefonsce's voyage to the New England coast was doubtless made in the interest of Roberval, who, in 1541, was made "Lord of Norombega," or Newfoundland, and of all New England, eighty years before the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers. As Allefonsce was a veteran and accomplished navigator, perfectly acquainted with the astrolabe, it seems certain that the bay he visited in this latitude must have been Massachusetts Bay, thus anticipating Gosnold more than sixty years.



1. Site of former entrance to Potammagutt or old ship harbor. The locality of the old ship is represented in black.
2. Present entrance to Chatham harbor.
3. Island ledge.
4. Webb's island.
5. Nauskaket creek.

On March 26, 1602, O. S., Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold, who is regarded as the first Englishman to set foot upon the shores of Cape Cod, and the first European who erected a dwelling-house on the soil of Massachusetts, sailed from Falmouth, England, for the north part of Virginia, in a small bark called the Concord, they being in all, says one account, "thirty-two persons, whereof eight were mariners and sailors, twelve purposing upon discovery to return with the ship for England, the rest to remain there for population." The voyage was undertaken "by the permission of Sir Walter Raleigh" and at the cost of a company of gentlemen, one of whom was the Earl of Southampton, the friend and patron of Shakespeare. Gabriel Archer, "a gentleman of the said voyage," and John Brereton, "one of the voyage," wrote a "Brief and True Relation," from which it appeared that, instead of the indirect course by way of the Canaries and the West India Islands, Gosnold boldly took a straight course across the Atlantic. On the 14th of May he made land on the eastern coast of Massachusetts north of Cape Cod, and sailing south on the 15th, soon found himself "embayed with a mighty headland," which appeared like an island by the reason of the large sound that lay between it and the main. "This sound he called Shoal Hope, and near this Cape, within a league of the land, he came to anchor in fifteen fathoms of water. Having hoisted out one-half of their shallop, Capt. Gosnold and four others went ashore, and ascending the hills obtained a view of the surrounding country, discovering that the headland was a part of the main, with "sandy islands lying round about it." Their vessels were "so pestered with codfish that numbers of them were thrown overboard, and Capt. Gosnold called the place Cape Cod," "a name," says Cotton Mather, "which it will never lose until shoals of

codfish be seen swimming on its highest hills." Archer, one of the gentlemen of the company, describes the Cape as being in "42° North latitude, well nigh a mile broad, and extending northeast by east, the sand by the shore somewhat deep and the ground full of peas, whortleberries, etc., then unripe." They cut firewood, consisting of "cypress, birch, witch-hazel and beech." Gosnold anchored west of Long Point, and describes the shore as bold, and does not mention any lagoon with water between the Point and the site of the present village. His description indicates great changes in the configuration of the coast since that time. The next day he sailed east and south along the outer coast of the Cape, which, inland, was "somewhat woody." This coast differed widely from the present line. Off Nauset a point extended far out into the sea, surrounded by shoal water with breakers. This "beach" he called Tucker's Terror, and the headland, Point Care, which was the easterly cape of Isle Nauset. Passing this headland, and bearing again to the land, he anchored in the night-time, in eight fathoms of water, east of what is now Pleasant Bay. Several canoes here came alongside of the ship, the Indians bringing tobacco pipes studded with copper, skins and other trifles to barter; one of them had a plate of copper hanging about his neck, and the rest pendants of copper. Five or six miles southeasterly from the present town of Chatham, another point extended far out into the sea, which Gosnold named Gilbert Point, anchoring a league or somewhat beyond it. Not a vestige of Gilbert Point or Isle Nauset now exists. A ledge half a mile from the shore, covered with four or five fathoms of water, in the direct course of vessels passing around the Cape, is all that remains of the latter. The sea broke over the former in two places, forming two islands, one of which soon drifted away. The

outer one, called Webb's Island, containing about twenty acres, remained until about 1720, being resorted to before that time, according to tradition, by the people of Nantucket and other places for wood, with which it was well stocked. Stumps, showing the marks of the axe, are drawn up by the fishermen, or driven ashore by the gales. Sandy or Monomoy Point did not then exist; it was formed by the debris of Gilbert Point. From the Point, Gosnold voyaged westerly, visiting Hyannis harbor and skirting the southerly coast of the Cape, touching at the islands, finally landing and erecting a trading house at Cuttyhunk, which a few weeks after was abandoned, the entire party sailing for England, with a collection of furs and peltry and sassafras root, the latter of which was then held in great esteem in pharmacy.

The next year after Gosnold's visit, came Martin Pring upon the coast, searching for sassafras, which for some time thereafter was in great request by the old-time pharmacists; but Pring left no accessible accounts of what he saw and heard, for the enlightenment of posterity.

The most valuable and scientific explorations of this coast in the early part of the seventeenth century were made under the auspices of the French government, by Champlain and De Monts, but strange to say, neither Bancroft nor Palfrey refer to them, and Holmes, Barry and Hildreth only incidentally, without giving an account of their work in delineating the coast of New England. Champlain was a skilful navigator, a man of science, and geographer to the King of France, and crossed the Atlantic about twenty times. He was engaged between Nova Scotia and Cape Cod, observing the land and its inhabitants and making a map of the coast, from May, 1604, to September, 1607. Cape Cod harbor was visited by De Monts and Champlain

in 1605, and the next year was further explored by Poitrincourt and Champlain. In his map Cape Cod is called Cape Blanc (i. e. Cape White) from the color of its sand hills. Champlain, in the account of his "voyages," gave separate charts and soundings of two harbors—Malle Barre, the Bad Bar (Nauset Harbor?) and Port Fortune, Chatham Harbor. By his own account Champlain arrived off Chatham Oct. 2, 1606. His boat, which he sent on shore, could not land, by reason of the breakers, but the Indians launched a canoe and came on board. The next morning, piloted by the Indians, he entered the harbor, but found difficulty of navigation among the shoals of Monomoy. The vessel struck the bottom, broke her rudder, and was in peril. "Finally," he says, "we succeeded by the grace of God, in passing over a point of sand which juts out into the sea three leagues to the S. S. E., a very dangerous place. We were involved in such fashion among the breakers and sand-banks that it was necessary to pass at all hazards." Finding a smooth place they anchored and sent a boat with men to look out a channel. After "considering the place," the boat returned with a savage, and favorable news. They immediately got under way, and were piloted by the savage to a place where they cast anchor in a roadstead having six fathoms of water and good bottom. The next day marks were put up on the sand, and at high water they run in at what is now known as Harding's Beach Point, and anchored in two fathoms of water. In view of the perils they had passed they called the place Port Fortune. This is now that portion of Chatham coast known as Stage Harbor.

Fifteen days were spent in this place, a cross was erected, and possession taken in the name of the King of France. Their intercourse with the natives had up to this time been friendly and without apprehension of danger. When the

repairs of the bark were completed, Poitrincourt walked a short distance into the interior, while his people were baking bread for the coming voyage. In his absence some of the natives went to the encampment of the French, stole a hatchet, and guns were fired, and they fled. Poitrincourt, on his return from his expedition inland, saw the Indians carrying away their children and other indications of excitement and preparation. This created suspicions, which were verified the next morning by the discharge among the company of a shower of arrows, killing two and wounding several. The Indians then fled, and pursuit was considered useless. The dead were buried at the foot of a cross; but whilst the funeral service was being performed, the Indians were seen dancing and yelling in concert, at a convenient distance away. After the French had retired to their bark, the Indians took down the cross, and dug up the bodies, stripping them of their grave clothes, which they carried about in mock triumph. Poitrincourt then attempted to pass further around the Cape, but was driven back by adverse winds, to his former anchorage. The Indians now seemed pacifically inclined, and made proffers of trade; whereupon six or seven of them were seized by the French and executed. They again left the harbor, and sailed southerly, discovering an island, probably Nantucket or Martha's Vineyard. With his wounded men, whose lives he considered in peril, he sailed away for Port Royal, relinquishing his designs for forming a settlement.

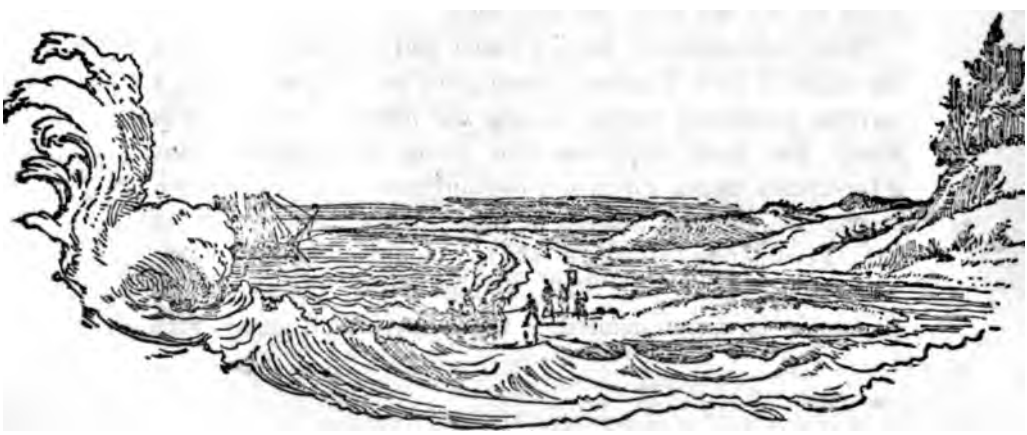
That Capt. Henry Hudson, when in the employ of the Dutch East India company, "discovered" Cape Cod and landed upon some part of it, rests upon the authority of the journal of his voyage. What portion of the Cape he visited and how long he remained, is not known.

In 1614, the famous Capt. John Smith visited the coast,

and in his "Description of New England," printed ten years later, after speaking of Accomack, since called Plymouth, he says: "Cape Cod is the next which presents itself, which is only a headland of hills of sand, overgrown with scrubby pines, hurts (i. e., whorts or whortleberries) and such trash, but an excellent harbor for all weathers. This Cape is made by the main sea on the one side, and a great bay on the other, in the form of a sickle. On it doth inhabit the people of Pawmet, and in the bottom of the bay those of Chawum" (Barnstable or Yarmouth). Smith's ships appear to have made as thorough an exploration of the inside of the Cape as Champlain did of the outside, but, like Champlain, his important work on this coast has escaped the notice of the standard historians of the United States. To one of Smith's subordinates, Capt. Hunt, who commanded one of the vessels of his fleet, is due an act of aggressive hostility which was a fruitful source of difficulty and danger to those who subsequently visited these shores. Hunt, while at Nauset, perfidiously inveigled a company of natives on board his vessel, and setting sail, carried them to Malaga, where they were sold into slavery, at twenty pounds per head. It was many years before the Indians forgot this act of perfidy, and Hunt's unoffending successors had to atone for his bad faith and treachery.

Other adventurers, both French and English, explored the coast of New England, from 1616 to 1619, and found a terrible pestilence raging among the natives, many places which had been populous now being depopulated, thus interrupting trade, which was beginning to be active between the natives and the traders of other nationalities. One of Sir Ferdinando Gorges's ships, commanded by Capt. Thomas Dermer, in 1619, found many places before populous, now uninhabited. Capt. Dermer brought with

him one of the victims of Hunt's treachery, an Indian named Tisquantum, who afterwards, under the more familiar name of Squanto, became very serviceable to the English settlers. When this savage returned after his exile to his native place, he found all his people dead! At Monomoyick (Chatham) Dermer was taken prisoner by the Indians, but succeeded in effecting his escape.



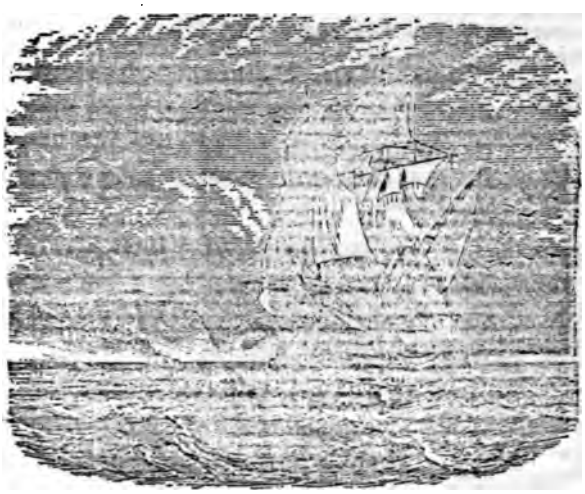
CHAPTER III.

THE MAYFLOWER'S COMPANY AND THEIR EXPLORATIONS.

The Mayflower in Cape Cod harbor—The Social Compact—First Exploring Expedition—First Drink of New England Water—Discovery of Indian Corn—Second Exploration—Debate of the Scheme of Settling in Truro—Third Expedition—Landing at Billingsgate—The First Encounter—Voyage to and Return from Plymouth—First Birth and First Death—Visit to Nauset in search of Lost Boy—Entertained by Iyanough—Expeditions to Monomoyick, Nauset, Manomet—Panic Among the Indians—Death of Iyanough—Wreck of the Sparrowhawk—Trading Post at Manomet—Great Storm of 1635.

N the 11th of November, 1620, old style, as is well known to the English speaking race, the Mayflower, with the Pilgrim Fathers on board, after a boisterous passage of sixty-three days, cast anchor in Provincetown harbor. In Mourt's Relation, in a description of the voyage, from the pen of Bradford, we are told how it appeared to the Pilgrim Fathers: "It is a good harbor and pleasant bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about four miles over from land to land, compassed about to the very sea, with oaks, pines, juniper, sassafras, and other sweet wood. It is a harbor wherein a thousand sail of ships may safely ride. There we relieved ourselves with wood and water, and refreshed our people while our shallop was fitted to coast the bay, to search for an habitation; there was the greatest store of fowl that ever we saw. And every day

we saw whales playing hard by us, of which, in that place, if we had instruments and means to take them we might have made a very rich return, which to our great grief, we wanted. Our master and his mate, and others experienced in fishing, professed that we might have made three or four thousand pounds worth of oil; they preferred it before Greenland whale fishing, and purposed the next winter to fish for whale here." Unlike Gosnold, they found no cod,



THE MAYFLOWER.

nor other fish. He continues the narrative: "The bay was so round and circling that before we could come to anchor we went round all the points of the compass. We could not come near the shore by three-quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great prejudice to us, for our people going on shore were forced to wade a bow-shoot or two in going aland, which caused many to get colds and coughs, for it was many times

freezing cold weather." He afterwards says, "It brought much sickness amongst us," and doubtless led to some of the deaths which occurred in Plymouth.

Before the Mayflower came to anchor, observing that some, who were not of the Leyden company, were not disposed to acknowledge that any authority existed for governing them, as the place of landing was not within the limits of the patent of Virginia, "it was thought good that we (they) should combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and governers as we should by common consent agree to make and choose," after solemnly invoking the throne of grace, they entered into the following compact, to which forty-one persons, including all the males of age, subscribed, as a basis of government:

In the name of God, Amen.

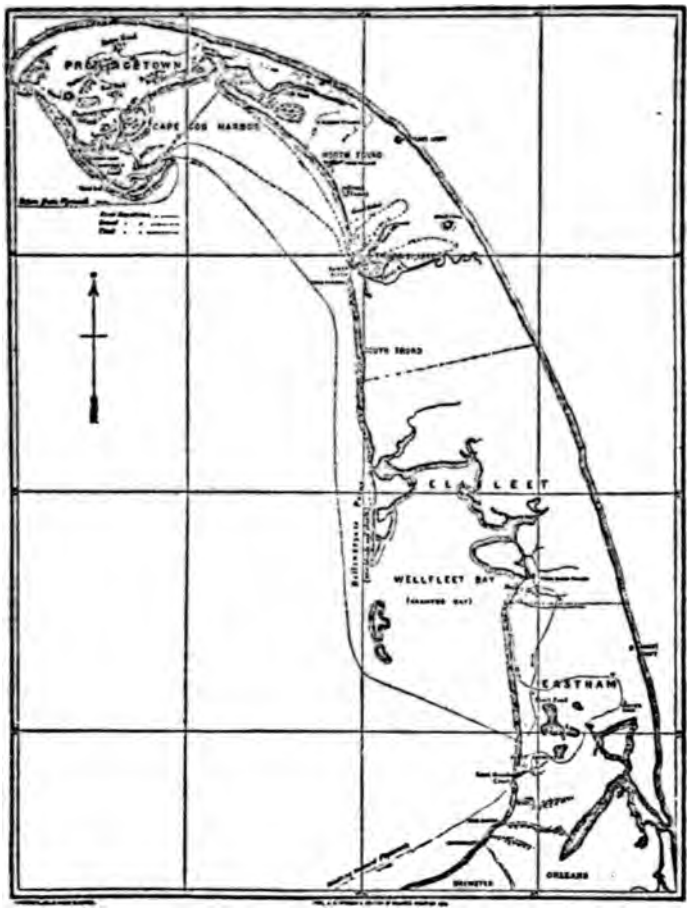
We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord King James, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the faith, etc., having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and the honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia; do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid: and by virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of

the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini 1620.

Mr. John Carver.	John Turner.
Wm. Bradford.	Francis Eaton.
Mr. Edward Winslow.	James Chilton.
Mr. William Brewster.	John Craxton.
Mr. Isaac Allerton.	John Billington.
Capt. Miles Standish.	Moses Fletcher.
John Alden.	John Goodman.
Mr. Samuel Fuller.	Degory Priest.
Mr. Christopher Martin.	Thomas Williams.
Mr. William Mullins.	Gilbert Winslow.
Mr. William White.	Edmund Margeson.
Mr. Richard Warren.	Peter Brown.
John Howland.	Richard Britteridge.
Mr. Stephen Hopkins.	George Soule.
Edward Tilly.	Richard Clarke.
John Tilly.	Richard Gardiner.
Francis Cooke.	John Allerton.
Thomas Rogers.	Thomas English.
Thomas Tinker.	Edward Dotey.
John Ridgedale.	Edward Leister.
Edward Fuller.	

Much has been written by speculative theorists, in relation to this simple act of the Pilgrim adventurers, who probably did not imagine they were performing a part which by posterity would be regarded as a new departure in the science of self-government. Their action was so simple and unpretentious, and grew so naturally out of their position and necessities that it did not require elaborate explanation. But its results cannot be overestimated. "This,"



PROBABLE LOCALITIES AS DESCRIBED IN "MOURT'S RELATION."

a Place where the women washed. b Where they saw the Indians and the dog. c Woods into which the Indians ran. d Hill which the Indians ran up. e Where the first expedition spent the first night. f Spring where they drank their first New England water. g Where they built their signal fire. h Where the second night was spent, and the kettle sunk in the pond. i Deer-trap in which Bradford was caught. j "Plaine ground fit for the plow." k First mound opened, which proved to be a grave. l Where they dug up the corn, and found the kettle. m Where they saw the two canoes, and where the second expedition landed. n Where they found the old palisade. o Where the first night of the second expedition was spent. p Where the second night of the second expedition was spent. q Where the eighteen who remained spent the third night. r The place of graves on the "plaine

says John Quincy Adams, "is perhaps the only instance in human history, of that positive, original social compact, which speculative philosophers have imagined as the only legitimate source of government." Its adoption was followed by the election of John Carver for governor for one year.

The same day, fifteen or sixteen armed men, went on shore to gather wood, and explore the country. They found the place "to be a small neck of land," "the ground sand hills, much like the downs in Holland, but much better, the crust of the earth a spit's depth, excellent black earth all wooded with oaks, pines, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, vines, some ash, walnut; the wood for the most part open and without underwood, fit either to go or ride in." But they found no human beings, and returned with a boat laden with juniper, "which smelled very sweet and strong."

The next day was the Sabbath, which was kept in the accustomed way by the voyagers. The men commenced the next week's work by landing a shallop, which they had brought with them in sections, while the women went ashore to wash clothes. The work of putting together the shallop progressed so slowly that the more active members of the company became impatient and devised plans for more thoroughly exploring the surrounding country. Capt. Miles Standish and sixteen others, armed and provisioned, set off Dec. 15, on what seemed to be regarded as an expedition attended by some degree of peril. They had proceeded but a little way, when they observed several

ground." s The place of the two houses where they found the deer's heads. t Where the third expedition passed the first night. u The two "becks" that "one might stride over." v Where they found the grampus on the sands. w Place of the palisade of graves "like a churchyard." x "More corn ground" and houses? y Where the third expedition passed the second night, and had the first encounter with the Indians.

Indians and a dog coming towards them, but the Indians retreated inward and whistled the dog after them. They followed the Indians, but did not overtake them, and encamped near Stout's Creek, at East Harbor. The next morning they pursued their journey, through thick and tangled underbrush, finding no springs for a long time, but at the valley at East Harbor village they record that, with great relish, they partook of the first drink of New England water. They also found land suitable for planting and signs that it had been used for that purpose. They also found mounds which, upon examination, proved to be an Indian burial place. Still further on they found a deposit of corn in baskets and a great kettle, which probably had belonged to some ship. They filled with corn the kettle, and took it away with them; the rest they left as they had found it. Further on they saw two canoes, and "an old fort or palisade, made by some Christians," as they thought. They returned that evening as far as Pond village, where they encamped for the night, having passed as far as Pamet Harbor, in Truro. In the morning they sunk their kettle in the pond. In pursuing their journey home, William Bradford was caught by the leg in a deer-trap which had been set by the Indians. They reached their vessel after a wearisome march, and delivered their corn into the store to be kept for seed, the chronicler of the voyage saying that they proposed as soon as they could meet any of the owners to repay them, which to their honor they subsequently did.

The next week was spent in preparing timber for a new boat. The weather was cold and stormy, and they experienced much discomfort in going ashore; having no boat, they wet their feet and contracted "coughs and colds, which afterwards turned to scurvy."

On Monday of the following week twenty-four of the

company in the shallop, and the ship-master and ten of his men in the long boat, set forth for further exploration along the shore. They came to Pamet Harbor again, and discussed the feasibility of the place for a settlement; but the idea was abandoned, in consideration of "the insufficiency of the place for the accommodation of large vessels and the uncertainty as to the supply of fresh water." During this expedition they again visited the corn deposit from which they had formerly helped themselves, and took what remained there, and also visited a burial place in which they found the remains of a European, as was evidenced by the light color of his hair, besides visiting several of the dwellings of the natives, but without encountering any of the inhabitants.

Dec. 6th, a third voyage of discovery, the company including Carver, Bradford and others, was commenced. They did not land until they passed Billingsgate Point, and when they reached the shore, they found some Indians cutting up a grampus, who fled on discovering the English. They encamped for the night, and the next day explored the region round about Eastham, discovering a burial place of considerable extent. That night they heard "a great and hideous cry," which caused them to arm, but concluded the noise was made by foxes and wolves. About 5 o'clock in the morning they heard a strange cry, and one of the company being abroad came running in, and cried, "Indians, Indians!" and at once their arrows came flying amongst the company, who hastily seized their arms. The cry of the enemies was dreadful; but after the English had discharged their pieces the Indians retired, except one lusty savage, who stood his ground until after several shots had been fired at him. The English then followed the enemy for about a quarter of a mile, and picked up eighteen

arrows, some of which were headed with brass, harts' horn and eagles' claws. The place where this skirmish occurred was called the "First Encounter." It is situated on the north side of Great Meadow Creek, in the town of Eastham, not far from the mouth. From this point the voyagers coasted along to Plymouth, passing Barnstable harbor, as Mourt states, in a thick snow-storm, otherwise they might have entered and settled there. Dec. 11, they sounded Plymouth harbor and found it fit for shipping, and having explored the region round about, and finding some fields and running brooks, they deemed the place suitable for settlement, and returned to the ship with the news of the result of their discovery.

They found upon their return, that Mistress William White had during their absence been delivered of a son, who was called Peregrine, the first child born of English parents in New England; and that the wife of William Bradford had fallen overboard and drowned. Besides these occurrences, Edward Thompson died Dec. 8. Thus are recorded the first birth and the first deaths of the colonists, all of these occurring in Cape Cod harbor. On the 15th of Dec. O. S., the Mayflower sailed from Cape Cod harbor for Plymouth, to which place is transferred the interest which attaches to their subsequent history and achievements, in some of which, however, the Cape bore an intimate and important part.

We hear very little more from the Cape for several months after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. In the following spring, Samoset, whose sudden appearance to the settlers and his greeting, "Welcome, Englishmen!" have so often been commemorated in history and on canvas, gave them the information that the Indians who had attacked them the previous season were the Nausets, who were incensed against the English because of the treachery of Capt. Hunt,

Smith's subordinate, which has already been adverted to. He said that, because of Hunt's conduct, several months before the coming of the Pilgrims, these Indians had put to death three Englishmen who had fallen into their hands, and that two others had averted a like fate by making their escape to Monhegan.

In July, 1621, a boy named John Billington lost his way in the woods near Plymouth, and for a long time search was made for him in vain. Receiving information that he was somewhere on the Cape, an expedition of ten men set forth in search of him. They put into Barnstable Harbor, where their boat was dry at low water. Seeing some Indians a short distance off, seeking lobsters, they sent forward two Indians who were with them, as interpreters, to communicate the object of the expedition. The Indians told them the boy was at Nauset, and extended an invitation to the English to go ashore and accept their hospitalities, which the visitors did. After the exchange of hostages they sent for their sachem, Iyanough, who joined them, and who is described by Winslow, as "a man not exceeding twenty-six years of age, personable, gentle, courteous and fair-conditioned; indeed, not like a savage except in his attire. His condition was answerable to his parts, and his cheer plentiful and various." Here they found an old woman not less than a hundred years old, who was the mother of one of Hunt's victims, and who bewailed in piteous tones the loss of her child, and whom they tried to appease by comforting messages and presents. After dinner the expedition proceeded to Nauset, Iyanough and two of his men accompanying them. Their boat grounded near the Nauset shore, and the Indians came out to meet them; but the English were properly guarded in their intercourse. Aspinet, sachem of the Nausets, subsequently came to the boat, bringing the

boy who was the object of their search, and after the exchange of courtesies, the natives departed. While at Nauset they found the owners of the corn they had helped themselves to the preceding season, and made arrangements to make restitution. Upon the homeward trip they again stopped at Cummaquid with Iyanough, who brought water to them with his own hand, the women and children of his tribe joining hands and dancing before them. Iyanough showed his kindness by taking a runlet and leading the seamen some distance in the dark for water. The men also showed them honor, Iyanough himself taking a bracelet from his neck and hanging it upon the neck of one of the English. The English then started for home, but made little progress, and again returned for water. They were still further entertained by Iyanough before their final departure.

Most of the Cape Indians soon after gave in their adhesion to the English, and a good understanding was established. When the ship Fortune arrived at Cape Cod in November of the same year (1621), the Indians brought word of the event to Plymouth before the ship reached there.

In November, 1622, a famine being imminent among the Plymouth settlers, determined them to seek bread from the Indian tribes. Gov. Bradford was in charge of the expedition, which embarked in the Swan, belonging to the Wessagusset settlers, and in the interest of both communities. Provided with knives and beads for traffic, they essayed to go around Cape Cod. They encountered stormy weather, and put into the harbor of Monomoyick, and the Governor, with Squanto and others, went on shore, staid all night, and trafficked with the Indians, obtaining eight hogsheads of corn and beans. Here Squanto, their early friend and faithful guide and interpreter, was taken sick and died. They sailed from here to the Massachusetts, but could not trade to

advantage, and returned again to Cape Cod. At Nauset they obtained more corn and beans; and at Mattacheesett an additional supply. While at Nauset their shallop was cast away, and they were obliged to stack and cover their grain, leaving it in charge of the Indians, since they had no means of getting it on board the ship. They procured a guide and set out on their journey of fifty miles on foot, receiving all respect from the natives by the way; and weary, and with galled feet, arrived safely at Plymouth. Three days after, the Swan arrived, bringing the corn first obtained at Monomoyick.

In January, 1623, another joint expedition started, with Standish in command, the weather being bitterly cold and stormy. They found at Nauset their cast-away shallop and repaired it, and the corn they had stored was also found and got on board. The Indians having, as Standish thought, stolen "some trifles," he demanded restitution in the most peremptory manner, which was complied with, and the sachem expressed great sorrow at the occurrence.

In February, their corn still running short, Standish went with six men in a shallop to Mattacheese,* to procure a supply. Their shallop was frozen up the first night of their arrival. The captain, for sufficient cause, became suspicious of the fidelity of the natives, and kept a strict watch over them; some few trinkets being missed he called the natives to account, and the missing articles were restored, and corn sufficient to load his shallop was afterwards easily procured.

The governor, with an Indian, Hobomoc, went soon after to Manomet, (now Bourne), twenty miles south of Plymouth, to procure more corn. He was entertained

*Mattacheese signifies old lands, or planting lands, and the terminal t or tt, as in Mattachecsett, means, on the borders of the sea. There is so much variation in the ancient spelling of all proper names that uniformity of orthography is difficult to attain.

hospitably by Canacum, the chief of this place, lodging here in a bitter cold night, and bought some corn which he was compelled to leave in charge of the natives. In March, Capt. Standish went to Manomet to procure the corn the governor had left there, entering Scusset harbor, where he left the shallop in charge of two or three men, and with two or three more went inland to the habitation of Canacum. He had not been there long before he perceived he was much less hospitably received than the governor had been. Presently two Massachusetts Indians made their appearance, one of whom, Wittuwamet by name, the Plymouth men well knew. His demeanor to Standish was most insulting. He talked violently, though incoherently to Canacum, drew a knife which hung around his neck and presented it to his host. He was, it subsequently appeared, complaining of outrages committed by the English at Wessagusset, and urged Canacum to take advantage of this opportunity to cut off Standish and his party. Standish, knowing that these circumstances forebode danger, then made ready to return to his shallop. The Indian women, by some small presents, were induced to assist in conveying the corn to the landing-place, and there the party had to wait until next morning. It was an anxious night for Standish, and he did not close his eyes. With a mere handful of men, in an unfriendly neighborhood, the situation was critical. The sachem Canacum and his ally from the Massachusetts tribe were reinforced by a Paomet Indian, the oppressive friendliness of whose carriage was as suspicious as the open hostility of Wittuwamet. He not only insisted on coming down to the shore with the English, but had voluntarily carried some corn, an ignominious act for a male Indian warrior; making a pretext of the cold he remained with them, crouching before their fire. All these things led

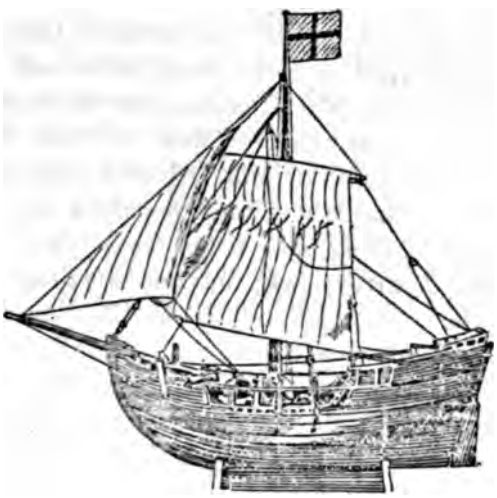
Standish to believe in the existence of a dangerous plot, and drove sleep from his eyes. When morning dawned the party embarked and arrived safely at Plymouth.

In consequence of information received from Massasoit, imparted to Hobomoc, of a plot against the English, in which not only Wittuwamet and others, but the Cape Indians at Manomet and Paomet were implicated, Standish was authorized to proceed to deal with the conspirators, which he did in his usual prompt and sanguinary manner. Proceeding to Weymouth, he summarily dispatched Wittuwamet and several of his followers, bringing the head of the former as a trophy to Plymouth. The news of this massacre created dire consternation among the Indians along the sea-coast. They forsook their homes, ran to and fro in bewilderment and fear, and living in swamps and deserts, contracted diseases of which many of them died. Thus miserably perished Canacum, sachem of Manomet; Aspinet of Nauset; and the courteous and hospitable Iyanough, of Mattacheese, whose fate is the more to be deplored because there seems to be no evidence to connect him with the plots in which the other sachems were involved. More than two and a half centuries after the death of Iyanough, the remains of a chieftain were exhumed near a swamp, in what is known as Iyanough's town, in ancient Mattacheese (East Barnstable village,) and the circumstances under which these relics were found, point irresistibly to the conclusion that they were the remains of Iyanough. They were gathered up with tender care, enclosed in a case, and deposited in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, side by side with relics of Standish and others of the Pilgrims, who brought him to a tragic and miserable death.

The transactions for some time after the sanguinary events related, naturally interrupted the trade and intercourse

between the English and the natives. Some further efforts in that direction were attempted, but resulted in disappointment and failure.

In December, 1626, the ship Sparrowhawk, with a considerable number of passengers, from London, bound for Virginia, was stranded upon a flat at what was then styled Monomoyick, but which is now the easterly part of Orleans. The master being sick, they had lost their way and had neither wood nor water on board, had steered for the shore,



THE SPARROWHAWK.

and had run over the shoals, they knew not how. They came directly before the small harbor at Potanumaquut, and run on a flat close to the beach, not knowing where they were. The savages on shore came to them in their canoes. The Englishmen were at first inclined to be guarded in their intercourse, but the Indians disarmed their fears by asking if they were "the Governor of Plymouth's men" and offering to assist them and carry letters to Plymouth. The Indians,

according to their ability, supplied the strangers with all they needed. The governor of Plymouth, having received the intelligence, came, with others, to their aid, bringing all the materials asked for. The season being unpropitious for going around the Cape he landed near the bottom of the bay, at Namskeket Creek, between the present towns of Brewster and Orleans, whence it was not more than two miles across the Cape to the bay where the ship lay. The Indians carried the things he brought over land to the ship. The governor bought of the Indians a lot of corn to supply the needs of the ship's company, and also to load their boat before returning home. The Sparrowhawk being repaired and ready to proceed, a great storm arose and drove her further on shore, by which catastrophe she was so badly shattered that she was rendered unfit for sea. The result was that all came to Plymouth, whither also their goods were transported, and where they remained until the next spring. Two hundred and thirty-seven years after the wreck of the Sparrowhawk, by one of those geological changes on the coast which are the characteristic features of Cape Cod, her hull, in a remarkable state of preservation, was uncovered from the drifting sand and afterwards removed, together with a number of articles which were found, in or near it, such as a quantity of beef and mutton bones, several soles of leather, shoes, a smoking pipe of the kind used by smokers of opium, and a metallic box. These interesting relics are now deposited in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth. The spot where this ancient hulk was exhumed had from time immemorial been known as "Old Ship Harbor," for what reason the present generation, until this time, was unaware.

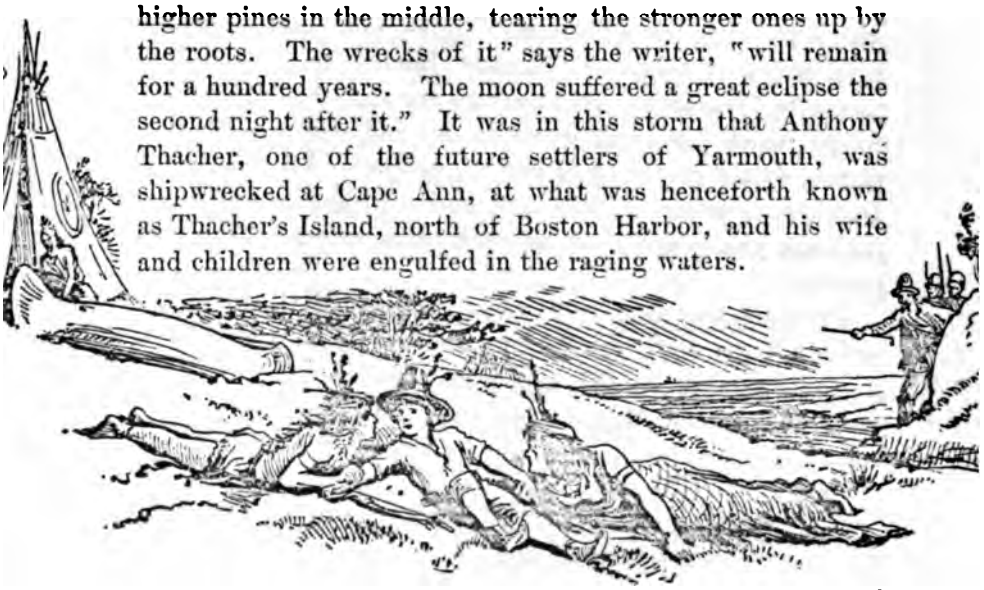
In the year 1627 the Plymouth colony company built a small pinnace at Manomet, a place within the present town

of Bourne, situated on a river running into Buzzards Bay, on the southern bank of which they also built a house, and kept some servants, who planted corn and reared swine, and were ready to go with the bark at any time on the trading expeditions in which the colonists were engaged. Here for many years a profitable traffic with the Indians was maintained, and from this point the intercourse with the Dutch settlers at New York was first opened. From Plymouth to Scusset Harbor was an easy voyage by water, and from this point to the navigable waters of Manomet River was only three or four miles. By this route, in the language of Governor Bradford, they were enabled to "avoid the compassing of Cape Cod and those dangerous shoals, and so make any voyage to the southward in much shorter time and with less danger." From that time to this, the route through the Manomet valley has been associated in the minds of men with the project to construct a canal, and thus to avoid the dangers of navigation around the Cape. Here, in September of 1627, came Isaac De Razier, secretary of the Dutch government of New Amsterdam, with a vessel laden with sugar, stuffs, etc., and Governor Bradford sent a boat to Scusset Harbor to convey him thence to Plymouth. He wrote an account of the Plymouth colony which has come down to us, and which is the best picture extant of the place and the people. After this, the Dutch came often to Manomet, and a profitable trade was for some years carried on between them and the Plymouth people.

The Cape was often resorted to for years by the Plymouth settlers, particularly for the procurement of corn, for which its soil was well adapted, and somewhat bitter controversies arose between the Massachusetts and Plymouth colonists, in regard to this traffic, the latter claiming the right to the

trade in this territory, as being within the exclusive jurisdiction of their government. In one of these expeditions, Richard Garrett and his company, from Boston, were cast away on the Cape, and some of them died from hardship and exposure. The Indians buried the dead with great propriety, to save the bodies from being devoured by wild beasts, although the ground was deeply frozen, requiring great labor in digging the graves. The survivors were literally "nursed back to life," so nearly perished were they; and when they were sufficiently recovered, the Indians kindly conducted them to Plymouth. These circumstances indicate the pacific character of the natives after the tragical events of 1622-3.

Among the memorable events of this early period was the great storm of 1635, such, says Bradford, "as none living in these parts, either English or Indians, ever saw, causing the sea to swell above twenty feet right up, and made many inhabitants climb into the trees. It took the roof of a house at Manomet, and put it in another place." "It blew down many thousands of trees, breaking the higher pines in the middle, tearing the stronger ones up by the roots. The wrecks of it" says the writer, "will remain for a hundred years. The moon suffered a great eclipse the second night after it." It was in this storm that Anthony Thacher, one of the future settlers of Yarmouth, was shipwrecked at Cape Ann, at what was henceforth known as Thacher's Island, north of Boston Harbor, and his wife and children were engulfed in the raging waters.



CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENTS.

Declaration of Rights—Settlement of Sandwich, Yarmouth, Barnstable and Eastham—Disputes on Theology and Division of Lands—Mr. Hull and the Yarmouth Dissenters—Representative Government Adopted—General Court holds a session in Yarmouth—Warlike Indians—Military Movements—Rates of charges for the several towns.

O the year 1637, no organized settlement had been effected on the Cape. The court records and incidental writings of the time give evidence that the region was considerably resorted to by fishermen, traders and roving adventurers, and it seems probable that residents had in a few cases established themselves in some parts of the county. Those who did so, acted without the authority of the Plymouth magistrates, and were regarded as intruders and trespassers. An exception to this remark was the occupation, in 1627, of the southern shore of Manomet river, for a trading post.

The laws and governmental institutions of the colony were not at this time adapted to a community of separate municipalities under a central head. The limits of political rights or authority were not defined. A few regulations, called for as the exigencies arose, had been temporarily made, and though the colonists were supposed to be governed by the laws of England, they were not very well understood; and the code of Moses was followed, rather

than that of James. But as the colony expanded and as new settlements were contemplated, the inconvenience of this state of things was apparent. It became evident that the civil power must be invoked, and the laws administered with some degree of stability and regularity. Therefore, Nov. 15, 1636, the Court of Associates promulgated the following declaration:

"We, the associates of New Plymouth, coming hither as free-born subjects of the state of England, and endowed with all and singular the privileges belonging to such, being assembled, do ordain that no act, imposition, law, or ordinance, be made or imposed on us, at the present or to come, but shall be made or imposed by the consent of the body of associates, or their representatives, legally assembled, which is according to the liberties of the state of England."

This document, it will be seen, is a virtual declaration of independence. The authority of the laws of England, "present and to come," were not only ignored, but Parliament was by implication denied the right to legislate for the colony. It was there provided that an election for governor and assistants should be held on the first Tuesday of June annually, the choice to be exercised by such as should be admitted as freemen; and none were to be admitted except such as were "orthodox in the fundamentals of religion," and possessed of a ratable estate of twenty pounds. The votes were to be given in person or by proxy, at Plymouth. Jurisdiction of cases under forty shillings was given to the governor with any two assistants, "to try and do as God may direct," not according to the common law of England nor any other statutes or regulations; the trial of large cases or offenses was to remain with the whole body of freemen, by juries. No other executive officer was provided for but the constable, who was invested with large powers. No person

was to be permitted to "live or inhabit within the government, without the leave and liking" of the governor and assistants. This assumption of the authority to exclude unwelcome visitors or residents, as we shall see hereafter, was the cause of much trouble in the future, and was exercised in such a manner as to lead to fierce controversy and civil commotion. It was derived from no charter or patent by any power entitled to exercise acts of sovereignty, but was assumed by the governing classes in the colony, at their own will and pleasure. The colony at this time consisted of three towns—Plymouth, Duxbury and Scituate. Such were the legal conditions preceding the settlement of the Cape.

The first English settlement on the Cape was effected in Sandwich. April 3, 1637, liberty was given to the men of Saugus, viz.: Edmund Freeman, Henry Feake, Thomas Dexter, Edward Dillingham, William Wood, John Carmen, Richard Chadwell, William Almy, Thomas Tupper, George Knott, "to view a place to sit down, and have sufficient lands for threescore families," upon conditions propounded to them by the governor and Mr. Winslow. These men subsequently selected the region afterwards known as Sandwich, for the place of their location. With the ten men first named came fifty other "undertakers," as the new citizens were called, chiefly from Lynn, or Saugus, Duxbury and Plymouth, most of them bringing their families. The names of such of these as are still found in the town were, George Allen, Anthony Besse, Robert Bodfish, Richard Bourne, John Briggs, Thomas Burge, Henry Ewer, John Fish, Jonathan Fish, Nathaniel Fish, Andrew Hallet, William Harlow, Joseph Holway, Thomas Landers, Benjamin Nye, James Skiff, John Wing, Peter Wright. A little later came John Ellis, Thomas Gibbs, William Swift, Thomas Tobey, William Basset, Ezra Perry. These men as a class

were of more tolerant and liberal spirit than characterized the governing classes of the Massachusetts settlers, a circumstance which probably had a controling influence upon the selection of this place for a permanent residence.

The settlement does not seem to have been completely effected until the subsequent year. Some preparation for the occupancy of the region was made. But this was done in the orderly, decorous way that met the approbation of the court. Two men who were laboring to clear up the ground for future use, but who had not received permission of the authorities, and were without their families, were presented "for disorderly keeping house alone."

In March of the following year Mr. John Alden and Capt. Miles Standish were directed to "go to Sandwich with all convenient speed, and set forth the bounds of the lands granted there." That the establishment of a church was coeval with the settlement seems evident, Mr. William Leverich being of that town in June, 1638. The court was disposed to exact of every community established by its authority, the most rigid compliance with the rules and regulations which had been ordained for the government of the whole, and the Sandwich settlers soon found that its recent occupation, and the unavoidable conditions of a new settlement would not be taken as an excuse for any delinquences. The record of 1638 informs us that several of the townsmen, among them some of the foremost citizens, were fined for not having their swine ringed, and for "being deficient in arms."

In March of the next year, by order of the court, the meadow lands in Sandwich, which had been previously laid forth, were again divided "by equal proportions, according to each man's estate," some of the townsmen being added to the committee in making the apportionment. It was an

unequal system of division, founded upon the rule, "to him that hath shall be given," and it is not strange that in September following complaint should have been made to the court. The cause of complaint was not, however, so much in relation to the inequality, as to the fact that they had received into the town divers persons, all but very few "unfit for church society;" and the committee were summoned to appear and answer to the same, and, in the meanwhile, were ordered not to dispose of any more land there, nor to convey any of their own lands to any other person. At the ensuing October court the complaints were considered. Mr. Thomas Prence and Capt. Miles Standish were appointed to hear and determine the controversies among the committees and inhabitants of the town. No record is made that any one was dispossessed. One party, who was occupying a lot needed for "a public use," had his land taken, by giving him its full value.

The neck called Moonuscaulton was reserved to the town as a common, for the pasturage of young cattle; and also Shawme Neck, lying between the rivers of Shawme and Manuscusset, for a common, allowing the inhabitants to take wood therefrom. And it was ordered that no other inhabitants should "be received into town or have lands assigned them by the committee, without the consent of Mr. Leverich and the church had been obtained," and that none of the inhabitants should sell their estate to be occupied by any person except he be generally approved by the whole town. And for the preventing of "dangers, evils or discords that may happen in the disposal of lands or other occasions within the town," it was agreed that in future some one of the assistants should be joined with the committees for advice and direction, Mr. Thomas Prence being appointed for the present. The division of the meadow lands was

made in April, 1640, five of the committee, five of the townsmen, with Mr. Prence, performing that duty, taking into consideration each man's "estate and quality," as well as his "necessity and ability." The assignments ranged from 42 acres to Mr. Edmund Freeman, to one acre each to various persons, 5 acres being assigned to Mr. Leverich, the pastor.

From this time forward until 1651 the annals of the town were uneventful. That year "the conditions on which the grant of the township was made, having been fulfilled, a deed of the plantation was executed by Gov. Bradford to Mr. Edmund Freeman, who made conveyances to his associates." The records give indication of the prompt erection of a house of worship, for as early as 1644, a meeting was held to decide whether to build a new meeting-house or repair the old one, which latter course was adopted. At a still later period a levy of £5 was made to part off Mr. Leverich's house with boards, "which was long since promised him." This admission, and others of the same tenor, show some degree of remissness on the part of the people in the support of the minister. That such a state of things should occur in a new settlement, engrossed with many cares and anxieties, does not seem strange, and argues no permanent declension in the sentiments of the people towards one of the great objects which is supposed to have impelled them to seek an asylum here.

An attempt to effect a settlement in Mattacheese or Mattacheesett, was made in the fall of 1637-8, by Rev. Stephen Bachelor and several others, a large proportion of them, however, members of his own family, who were connected with some of the settlers of Sandwich. The spot which they selected for their location was in the northeastern portion of the present town of Barnstable, near the seashore,

in a locality which still bears the name of "Old Town." Winthrop speaks of it as a portion of Yarmouth, and for two or three years after the settlement it did form a part of that town, until it was set off to Barnstable by a special court held in Yarmouth, June 17, 1641. The weather of the winter of 1638 was very severe, the settlement was undertaken without due preparation, and was abandoned in the spring. Mr. Bachelor, then recently the pastor of Lynn, at the advanced age of 76, travelled on foot the whole distance from Lynn to Mattacheese, more than a hundred miles, at an inclement season of the year. From Mattacheese, early in the spring he went to Newbury, and fourteen years later, after a life of controversy and hardship, died in England, at the age of ninety years.

Early in 1639, permission having been granted, the preceding December, to Anthony Thacher, John Crow and Thomas Howes, who had associated with them Mr. Mardick (Marmaduke) Matthews, and subsequently Samuel Rider, Mr. Nicholas Simpkins, Giles Hopkins, Andrew Hallet and others, the settlement of Yarmouth commenced, under favorable auspices. Mr. Hopkins was a son of Stephen Hopkins, and came over with his father in the Mayflower, in 1620. The previous year the elder Hopkins was granted permission, by the court, to erect a house and cut hay at Mattacheese, and have a lot there with the consent of the committees for the place, and was in occupation when the settlement commenced. This settlement seems to have been effected without much controversy or any memorable incidents, and with the cordial cooperation of the court and authorities of Plymouth.

The town received some little attention, however, from the court in its initial period. It was forbidden that any one should purchase two house-lots or more and have them

together and maintain but one house upon them. This was intended to make the settlement compact, as a matter of safety and precaution. The townsmen were permitted to keep their swine unringed, they keeping them with a herdsman, "until complaint be made of some hurt they had done;" and the constable was ordered to erect a pair of stocks and a pound. By the close of 1640 some twenty-five families were established there. As Mr. Matthews was one of the first comers, it seems most probable that the establishment of the church was coeval with the settlement of the town.

The founders of Yarmouth were men of such stability of character and in such close sympathy with the authorities of Plymouth, that they were able to sustain themselves in the face of all disadvantages. The three grantees, Anthony Thacher, John Crow* and Thomas Howes, were men of solid and substantial character. Mr. Thacher had been a curate of the parish of St. Edmunds, Salisbury, had suffered shipwreck in the storm of 1635, already adverted to, had settled first in Newbury, then in Marblehead, whence he came to Yarmouth. Mr. Crow is believed to have been of that branch of the family which removed from Kent county to Wales, and came to this place from Charlestown. Mr. Howes came over in 1635, when he was in Salem. The family was an ancient and honorable one in Norfolk county, England. From these men, and Mr. Andrew Hallet, James Matthews, Samuel Rider, Richard Sears, Edmund Hawes and Francis Baker, a large proportion of the present inhabitants are descended.

The earlier years of the settlement of the town were distracted by the two prolific sources of trouble incident to

*This name soon after began to be written Crowe, and about the third generation, Crowell.—History of Old Yarmouth.

New England settlements—theological controversies and disputes about land titles. Which was the cause of the greater degree of discussion it is difficult to decide, but both combined served to embroil the settlement for the first ten years of its existence. The land question was the first settled. Thacher, Crow and Howes, the three grantees, were at the outset appointed by the court to be the land committee, and under instructions to "make an equal division to each man, according to his estate and quality." This was a hard task for any three men. Each person's estate could easily be settled; but his quality, the value of the service he had rendered or was likely to render, was so open to different constructions, that could they agree upon it, those for whom they acted could hardly be expected to acquiesce in their estimate. The malcontents appealed to the court, which thereupon added to the committee four townsmen, Messrs. Nicholas Simpkins, Wm. Palmer, Philip Tabor and Joshua Barnes. The enlarged committee still failed to give satisfaction, whereupon Capt. Miles Standish was called upon, and invested with full powers. The captain displayed in this emergency the same decision and energy which he had evinced in his military career. In May, 1648, having previously heard a great number of cases, he announced his decision. Some parties were ejected from lands they had occupied; many of the former grants of uplands and meadows were abrogated, and the grants reverted to the town, and in some cases exchanges were made. Standish's authority being absolute, no remonstrance was accepted, and his award became at once operative. For the future, the court ordered that "Mr. Starr, Wm. Nickerson and Robert Dennis be added to the committee of the town for the present year, and thenceforth that each year the town choose a committee of three, without

whose consent, or that of the remainder of them, no grants of meadows or uplands should be made," but in case the future differences should become irreconcilable, they "should repair to Capt. Standish for instructions." Whether well or ill-considered, this action was a final settlement of the controversy which had so long and so unhappily divided the settlers in the early years of the town.

The theological troubles of the people were not so easily or summarily composed. The settlement had hardly commenced before difficulties sprang up in the church. Mr. Marmaduke Matthews, an educated and witty Welshman, but endowed with an indiscretion and latitude of speech which constantly subjected him to suspicion, was the first minister, and from the beginning he was antagonized to a considerable portion of the church, on grounds which it is difficult at this length of time to fully comprehend. He early had a controversy with William Chase, in which the latter temporarily lost the favor of the majority, was superseded by another in the office of constable, and came near being forced to leave the town. Next we hear of Thomas Starr, Hugh Tilley, Joshua Barnes and William Nickerson being complained of by Mr. Matthews's partisans as "scoffers and jeerers at religion and making disorders at town meeting;" but they were subsequently acquitted by the court. The opposition to Mr. Matthews then resulted in the attempt to form another church and society in town. Rev. Joseph Hull, who had exercised the office of minister in Barnstable, before the advent of Mr. Lothrop, and who had been virtually deposed by him, was invited to preach in Yarmouth by those dissatisfied with the ministrations of Mr. Matthews. Mr. Hull complied, but the unfriendly interference of the Barnstable church, defeated the arrangement. The opposition to Mr. Matthews was by no means abated

by this intercession, and after a checkered and turbulent ministry of half a dozen years, he was compelled to relinquish his charge, probably about the year 1646.

Mr. Matthews's successor was Rev. John Miller, who in 1649 became the minister of a people who had not as yet healed the differences which had so long divided them. Mr. Miller was educated for the ministry at Cambridge, England, had resided at Roxbury and Rowley, and was one of the seventy-seven mentioned by Cotton Mather, as in the actual exercise of their ministry when they left England. Owing to the revival of the old discontents, a council was called, consisting of the most distinguished members of the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, among them, Wilson of the First church, Boston, Shepherd of Cambridge and John Eliot of Roxbury, known as the Apostle to the Indians. An adjustment of the difficulties followed, although some traces of the discontent survived for years thereafter. In 1651, Emanuel White and Robert Allen were at the court charged with villifying Mr. Miller, and were acquitted; and the next year Mr. Miller's opponents returned the charge by having him cited to answer for remarks in a sermon against the government. The court so far noticed this matter as to instruct the jury to "make due inquiry to vindicate the government." No further mention is made of the matter in the public records, and the religious discontents of the time gradually, though not wholly, subsided. Mr. Eliot, while engaged in his pacific mission embraced the opportunity to commence his work of christianizing the Indians of this town, which he prosecuted for some time with much zeal and activity, in the face of many difficulties and discouragements. With the settlement of the proprietorship of the lands, and in a large degree of the ministerial troubles, Yarmouth commenced a career of steady growth and prosperous development.

Barnstable, the region lying between Sandwich and Yarmouth, was settled in the early part of 1639. The first comers were Elder Thomas Dimmock, who was there in March of that year, and Rev. Joseph Hull, who arrived two months later. To them the court granted the lands in the town, on the usual conditions and with the customary restrictions. The lands in the eastern portion of the town were sometime in 1637-8 surveyed by Mr. Collicut of Dorchester, to whom a grant of them had been made by the court. It was doubtless under the authority of this grant that Mr. Bachelor had made his abortive attempt in 1638. Mr. Dimmock was probably one of the associates of Collicut, and Mr. Hull belonged to the same company. With Messrs. Dimmock and Hull there came, in the spring of that year, some fifteen families. A church was established here, though not formally organized, of which Mr. Hull was pastor and Rev. John Mayo preaching elder. No church edifice was erected, though tradition pointed out the large rock — only a portion of which remains — on the highway between Barnstable and West Barnstable, as the spot where they were accustomed to meet. This rock stood in front of the residence of the late Edward Scudder. It has been gradually carried away, a portion of it having been used in building the old jail. During the summer months this arrangement was convenient and natural, and under the overshadowing oaks and pines by the roadside, these devout men and women could commune through nature with nature's God.

Oct. 11, 1639, Rev. John Lothrop and some twenty-five families from Scituate arrived in Barnstable, in accordance with arrangements previously made. They had become dissatisfied with their location, "Scituate being too straite for their accommodation," and were attracted to this region,

as were the first settlers to Yarmouth, by the extensive salt marshes, which afforded subsistence for their cattle, while the lands cleared by the Indians gave them tillage spots for planting. Mr. Lothrop was a man distinguished for his piety and talents. He was educated at Christ college, Cambridge, took holy orders and settled in the ministry in Egerton, near London, but renounced the orders and separated himself from the church of England. In 1624 he was chosen successor to Rev. Henry Jacob, the first pastor of the first Independent or Congregational church in London. He was pastor of this church for eight years, when he and about fifty of his congregation were arrested, and refusing to take the oath *ex officio*, were thrown into prison, where they remained for two years. He came to this country in 1634 in the ship Griffin, in company with the famous Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, and late in the fall of 1634 came to Scituate, where a small settlement had been made. Here a church was formed and Mr. Lothrop elected pastor. They found that they had made a mistake and sought and secured a new location here. With Mr. Lothrop came several men of weight and character, among them, Anthony Annable, Henry Cobb, William Crocker, Samuel Hinckley, George Lewis, Isaac Robinson, William Baker. James Cudworth came a little later, but subsequently returned to Scituate. John Bursley, Austin Bearse, James Hamlin, Thomas Huckins, Thomas Allyn, John Scudder, Nathaniel Bacon, Roger Goodspeed, Dolar Davis, Mr. John Mayo, Alvan Blush and John Hull were early here. The greater portion of Mr. Lothrop's associates had been connected with him in church relations, both in Scituate and London, but the church organization was retained in London after the removal, and Mr. Lothrop never claimed to represent it here. In fact he spoke of himself, according to Gov.

Winthrop, while in Boston, as outside of any organized church at that time. The London church survived for some eight years after Mr. Lothrop removed to America. The claim that the West Barnstable church represents the first Independent church organization, can hardly be sustained.

Mr. Lothrop and his associates were cordially welcomed by those who had preceded them in Barnstable. Oct. 31, "a feast was held to implore the grace of God to settle us here in church estate, and to unite us together in holy walking, and to make us faithful in keeping covenant with God and one another." On the 11th day of December O. S., the first day of Thanksgiving was held. The service was observed at Mr. Hull's house. The object of the meeting was to give thanks to God for his exceeding mercy in bringing them safe to Barnstable, preserving their health "in the weak beginnings of their plantation and in their church estate." The day was very cold, and after the close of public service they divided into "three companies to feast together, some at Mr. Hull's, some at Mr. Mayo's, and some at Brother Lumbard, senior's." What a delightful record of mutual help, thanksgiving and good cheer!

The winter of 1639-40 was open and cold, but no deaths were reported, and but little sickness occurred among the company. The division of the common lands engrossed much attention, as was natural. It was greatly to the credit of the settlers that they accomplished this without controversy or angry discussion. April 25, 1640, was set apart as a day of fasting, to invoke the divine blessing on their efforts, and the following rule of division of lands, adopted by the general consent of the inhabitants, was satisfactory to all interested: "One-third part to every houselot, equally; one-third to the names that are immovable; and the other third according to men's estates." This rule was adhered to

in all the subsequent divisions. At a town meeting held in 1641, measurers of land were appointed, and the details of the measurement settled. In 1643, Mr. Hatherly, Mr. Freeman and Capt. Standish were appointed by the court "to divide to each man, the lands at Barnstable, reserving a portion for public use." The town subsequently ordered "that the commons, or undistributed lands, shall belong to the present inhabitants, and to whom they shall see fit," and "that the commons be entailed to the houselots."

Before a full and complete title of the soil could be acquired, it was necessary to extinguish the Indian titles. Fortunately for the settlers, there was land enough for their occupation and improvement, without doing violence or wrong to the natives of the soil. The pestilence which had decimated the Indians in Plymouth before the coming of the Pilgrim fathers, had raged upon the Cape, and after the death of the noble Iyanough, his heirs, with their thinned ranks of subjects, ranged over a large region, embracing the present territory of the western part of Yarmouth, East Barnstable, Hyannis, and the vast stretch of land known as the "South sea" region. The natives had no use for all these lands and parted with them for what seems a trifle in these days, but what to the Indians was no doubt regarded as ample compensation. They could still take game and fish, first at one spot then at another, in this region, and that was all they wanted of the place. Small tillage lots were reserved for their use, which they or their successors improved while any of them survived.

Next to the division of the lands, here as in adjoining towns, polemical discussion seems to have been the most fruitful source of dissension. In the case of the Barnstable settlers, personal predilections and individual claims, rather than matters of doctrine, led to the first troubles in the

church organization. Mr. Joseph Hull was the earliest minister in town; he came in the day of weakness of the church; he was a man of good character and respectable abilities. But he was not equal in talent and learning to Mr. Lothrop. Mr. Hull, it will be seen, extended to Mr. Lothrop on his coming the warmest Christian greetings and hospitalities. He assisted on April 15, in the following year, in the ordination of Mr. John Mayo as teaching elder, and in the following month we find the record of his excommunication by the church, for, as they say, "willfully breaking his communion with us, and joining a company in Yarmouth to be their pastor, contrary to the counsel and advice of our church." The cause of all this lies upon the surface. The great majority of the Barnstable church preferred their former pastor, Mr. Lothrop, for a minister, and Mr. Hull was ignored, not only in that relation, but was dropped from his position as deputy from the town to the colony court. The society in Yarmouth was not united upon Mr. Matthews, and these dissenters, together with the personal friends of Mr. Hull in Barnstable, desired to form a society with Mr. Hull as pastor. This natural arrangement, under the circumstances, was in opposition to the policy of the governing class in the colony, and when Mr. Hull attempted to exercise the duties of a pastor, he was proceeded against. There was no allegation of immorality or unsoundness of doctrine. But he was dealt with as rigorously as if there had been. A warrant was issued to the constable to arrest him if he attempted to exercise the pastoral office; and he and his wife were excommunicated. So long as these restrictions were in force, it was social and political death to them. The struggle was an unequal one; Mr. Hull desisted, made an "acknowledgment of his sin," was received back into the church, and the following year

removed to Dover. Mr. Lothrop was in full control of the church and society, until the end of his useful and successful career, in 1653, the date of his death.

It was not until several years had elapsed that a regular house of worship was erected; they met at the residences of the members; their pastor's, Mr. Cudworth's and Mr. Bursley's, and June 1, 1646, Mr. Lothrop was enabled to add in his diary, that this was "the second of our meeting in our meeting-house." This structure stood in the ancient graveyard near the present County road, where the ashes of so many of the fathers of the town repose.

Mr. Lothrop and his associates appear to have been in complete sympathy with the Independent cause in the mother country. A fast was held March 16, 1648, "principally for Old England, requested by Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Parliament, in regard to many fears of the Presbyterians, with many others, to raise up new wars in the land, and, notwithstanding all their troubles, much pride and excess abounding, with an unframed spirit, to humble themselves by praying and seeking with God." November 5, a day of humiliation "was kept by the church, principally for Old England." And March 4, 1652, was observed as "thanksgiving for the Lord's powerful working for Old England by Oliver Cromwell and his army, against the Scots.*

In 1644 the settlement of Eastham, which had several years been in contemplation, was effected. This region, under the name of Nauset, had been familiar to the English from their first coming to these shores. Here was the "first encounter" with the Indians. To Nauset had often resorted trading parties from Plymouth, to replenish their fast vanishing stock of provisions, of which the natives had more than their own need. About 1643, the inhabitants of

*Mr. Lothrop's Diary.

Plymouth, becoming dissatisfied with their location, began to look about them for a new place of settlement. It seems strange to those of the present day, who are acquainted with the features of the two localities, that Nauset should have been seriously considered as the more eligible place of residence; but the fact that Nauset had within its borders a large area of grain-producing lands, not then exhausted by a vicious system of agriculture, explains their preference. Gov. Bradford and others proposing Nauset for a settlement, a committee was appointed to explore the premises, and obtained permission to occupy it from those who had obtained a grant of the territory in 1640. Subsequent explorations having been made, it was decided that the place was not sufficiently extensive for the accommodation of the whole Plymouth company, and that it was not centrally situated for the seat of the government of the colony. But several of the Plymouth church being resolved upon removal, a grant was obtained of the court, of "all the tract of land lying between sea and sea, from the purchasers' bounds from Namskaket to the herring brook, at Billingsgate, with said herring brook and all the meadows on both sides of said brook, with the great bass-pond there, and all the meadows and islands lying within the said tract." This grant embraced a region of about 15 miles in length, extending from the present towns of Brewster to Truro, from Barnstable Bay across to the Atlantic Ocean. The leading men of this settlement, John Doane, Nicholas Snow, Josias Cook, Richard Higgins, John Smalley and Edward Bangs, were parted with regretfully by their associates at Plymouth. They were highly esteemed by, and in full sympathy with, the governing class at Plymouth, and commenced the settlement under favorable auspices, and their numbers were so augmented by accessions that June 2,

1646, an act of incorporation in the following terms was passed: "Nauset is granted to be a township and to have all the privileges of a township, as other towns within the government have." They soon after organized by choosing Nicholas Snow town clerk, Edward Bangs treasurer, and Josias Cook constable. A meeting-house, 20 feet square, with thatched roof, and port holes in the sides, was erected near Town Cove. Rev. John Mayo, who went from Barnstable in 1646, remained in the exercise of the ministry at Nauset, until 1655, when he was called to the second church in Boston. In 1647 Joseph Rogers was appointed to exercise the men of Nauset in the use of arms, and in June, 1648, it was ordered that the public rate of Nauset, this year and the future time, shall be 40s. In 1651 it was "ordered that the town of Nauset henceforth be called and known by the name of EASTHAM."

Thus was accomplished the permanent settlement upon the Cape of four towns, under conditions differing but little from each other, and by people of similar origin, faith and condition in life. The few detached settlements elsewhere, as at Succannessett and Monomoy, were placed "within the liberties" of some other town, as the legal phraseology of the times ran. But it was contrary to the policy of the colony to encourage settlements, except by such numbers as would insure the establishment and maintenance of a minister within their borders.

Nearly coeval with the settlement of the Cape, in the year 1639, occurred a radical change in the form of government of Plymouth colony, from a nearly democratic, to a representative, government. The inhabitants of the towns in the colony had heretofore been accustomed to go to Plymouth for the transaction of the public business and the

election of officers. The remainder of the year the entire administration of the government, legislative, judicial and executive, rested with the governor and his assistants. In 1638 the towns were authorized to send deputies to join with the bench to enact and make all such laws and ordinances as shall be deemed good and wholesome for the whole." But the laws to be enacted were to be proposed at one session and not considered until the next, and the court reserved the right to reject and dismiss all those deputies or committees who were "found insufficient or troublesome"! This change went into effect in 1639, and Sandwich and Yarmouth were represented at the June session, and Barnstable at the December term ensuing, by the following deputies, or committees, as they are sometimes styled: Sandwich, Richard Bourne, Thomas Armitage, Mr. John Vincent. Yarmouth, Thomas Payne, Philip Tabor. Barnstable, Mr. Joseph Hull, Mr. Thomas Dimmock. Of scarcely less importance was the office of constable, upon the incumbants of which depended in great measure the good order and obedience to the law-making power of the little communities. William Chase was the incumbent from Yarmouth from March to October, when he was succeeded by William Clark; Thomas Armitage was selected, in March, for Sandwich, and in June had George Allen for associate; Wm. Carsely was chosen in June for Barnstable.

Together with the new representative system, a local judicial tribunal was created for hearing controversies between the parties within the townships of Sandwich, Barnstable, and Yarmouth, involving cases of not exceeding 20 shillings. Mr. Edmund Freeman of Sandwich, who was one of the assistants of the governor, together with Mr. Thomas Dimmock of Barnstable and Mr. John Crow of Yarmouth, constituted the court. How long it existed, or

the extent of its business, is not known by any record extant.

The same year a special session of the assistants was held in Yarmouth, June 17th, at which Edward Winslow, Miles Standish and Edmund Freeman, gentlemen, presided, to hear and determine causes pending in Yarmouth, and fix the boundaries between that town and the adjacent territory. These controversies referred more especially to differences respecting the boundaries and fencing of individual lots, small trespasses by Indians and matters requiring arbitration, rather than judicial process. The bounds of Yarmouth on the east were defined to be from Bound Brook river, now the western limit of Brewster, with a liberal reservation for Mashantampaine, the Indian sagamore, on the borders of Nobscussett pond. The bounds between Yarmouth and Barnstable were fixed very nearly as at present, reserving in the part set off to Barnstable a parcel of plain land in the eastern portion near the seashore to the two Indian sachems, Nepoyetum and Twacommacus and their heirs. By this readjustment of boundaries, Yarmouth lost nearly a mile of territory, from east to west, across to the south sea in Hyannis. No fixed terms of these courts were established, but they were held at such times and places as the public convenience required; and in some few cases adjourned terms of the General Court were held in the Cape towns, for the consideration of important matters.

Hardly had the settlers provided shelter for their families and cleared the land for tillage, ere they were called upon to face the dangers and privations of war. Information having reached the Plymouth authorities of a conspiracy of the Indians to cut off the English settlers, a general meeting of the freemen was called for deliberation, on the 27th of September, 1642. They, however, met by their deputies,

as they had a right to do. After full consultation a deputation was sent to Massachusetts Bay, to enter into a league and covenant with that colony, for future defensive and offensive operations. Capt. Standish was chosen captain of the forces to be raised, and William Palmer of Yarmouth was selected for lieutenant. The relative ability of the eight towns in the colony may be seen by the amount raised for the charges of the troops: Plymouth, £5, 5s.; Duxbury, £3, 10s.; Scituate, £4; Sandwich, £3; Barnstable, £2, 10s.; Yarmouth, £2, 10s.; Taunton, £2, 10s.; Marshfield, £2, or in that proportion for a greater or less sum. A council of war was chosen, at the head of which was the governor, with Mr. Edmund Freeman, Mr. Thomas Dimmock and Mr. Anthony Thacher as the members from the Cape towns. These alarms seemed for a season to be soon dissipated. But in October of the next year, the rising of the Indians against the Dutch and English occasioned fresh alarms, and the court was again summoned to assemble. It was concluded that thirty men would be the just proportion for the colony, and the numbers for each town on the Cape were apportioned as follows: Sandwich, 3; Barnstable, 3; Yarmouth, 2. Stringent regulations were made against selling arms to the Indians. Provision was made requiring Yarmouth and Barnstable to prepare a place for the defense of themselves and their wives and children, in case of a sudden assault. No further military operations occurred this year.

The hostile demonstrations of the Indian tribes were however continued, and in August, 1645, an expedition was organized against the Narragansetts. There were 40 men engaged in this expedition, of which 5 were from Sandwich, 4 from Barnstable, and 5 from Yarmouth. The Cape men were gone from 13 to 14 days. They advanced as far as

Rehoboth, but peace having been concluded with the savages the troops returned without meeting the foe. The charges of this expedition were £66, 3s., 3d. The rate, the whole of which a little exceeded this sum, for the Cape Cod towns was: Sandwich, £9, 7s., 9d.; Barnstable, £6, 2s., 6d.; Yarmouth, £7, 2s., 6d. Nauset, not yet having been fully organized, was not included in this rate.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS, 1635–1650.

1635, November. A vessel with some Connecticut settlers on board was cast away in Manomet Bay. The crew got on shore, and, after wandering ten days in deep snows, arrived at Plymouth.

1638, June 1. Great earthquake throughout New England. "So violent its shock, in some places, that movables in houses were thrown down, and people outdoors could scarcely retain a position on their feet."—Sept. The court ordered that the inhabitants of Sandwich and Mattacheese, or Yarmouth, should build a bridge over Eel River, to be made passable by footmen or horsemen.—Dec. James Skeff of Sandwich was ordered by the court to carry Henry Ewer and wife and their goods out of the town to the place whence they came; but if this order was executed they found means to return, and remained unmolested.

1639, May 6. It was ordered by the court, that "if Mr. Callicut do come in his own person to inhabit Mattacheese before the next General Court in June next ensuing, then the grant shall remain firm unto him; but if he fail to come within the time fixed, that then their grant be made void, and the land be otherwise disposed of." It was also ordered by the court that "the proportion of land granted to Mr. Andrew Hallet at Mattacheese, shall be and remain unto him, and that those that are appointed to set forth the bounds betwixt Mattacheese and Mattacheesett shall lay forth the said portion unto him in a convenient place there."—Dec. 3. Thomas Lumbert was licensed to keep an ordinary for entertainment of strangers and draw wines in Barnstable.

1640, March 2. The "purchasers and old comers," obtained a grant of "a tract of land from the bounds of Yarmouth three miles eastward of Naemskekectt and across the neck from sea to sea." For this grant and two others, William Bradford and associates, the aforesaid

"purchasers and old comers," surrendered to the whole body of the freemen all the rest of the land within the patent, which had not been granted to other persons.

1641, June 1. The rates of the several towns fixed by the court for the payment of clerk and 30 bushels of corn for the messenger, were as follows: Sandwich, 3 pounds; Barnstable, 2 pounds, 10 shillings; Yarmouth, 2 pounds, 10 shillings.—June 7. Thomas Starr, Hugh Tilley, William Nicholson and Joshua Barnes, of Yarmouth, complained of for being "scoffers and jeerers at religion," were ordered to recognize for their appearance in court, and "for coming to the town meetings." They were subsequently released. This was an outcome of their controversy with Mr. Matthews.

1643, Aug. 29. "Time is given to the towns of Barnstable and Yarmouth until the next court, to amend their highways, or else be fined upon their presentment." Liberty was granted to the towns of Sandwich, Barnstable and Yarmouth for erecting of military discipline among them, provided they be men of honest and good report, and freemen.

1644, Mar. 5. "Whereas information is given to the court that there is a cow or a heifer in calve given or disposed by Mr. Andrew Hallet senr. of Yarmouth, for the benefit of the poor of the said town of Yarmouth, which for the ordering thereof was referred to the court by the said Mr. Hallet by his letter under his hand, and bearing the date the first day of March, 1643: The Court doth therefore order that the said cow or heifer in calve shall be on May day next delivered to Thomas Payne of Yarmouth, who shall have her for three years next ensuing and the milk and one-half of the increase during that time, and after the said three years are expired, the poor of Yarmouth shall have her, and the increase to be disposed of by the townsmen of Yarmouth from time to time to other poor persons dwelling in the said town as they shall think fit, and for such term, reserving the benefit of said stock for the benefit of their poor, and not to be alienated to any other use."—June 5. Mr. Anthony Thacher of Yarmouth licensed to draw wine at Yarmouth; Henry Cobb at Barnstable; Wm. Newland at Sandwich.—Aug. 20. Robt. Bodfish licensed to draw wine at Sandwich, "and when he is at any time without, it shall be lawful for Wm. Newland to sell wine for persons for their need."

1646, June 2. The Court ordered that strangers that have liberty to fish at the Cape pay 5 shillings per share.—Oct. 20. The proportion of the towns for public charges were, Sandwich, 3 pounds, 10 shillings. Yarmouth, 2 pounds, 10 shillings. Barnstable, 2 pounds, 10 shillings.

1647, March 2. Thomas Shaw for "putting aside some loose palisades on the Lord's day, entering the house of John Crocker of Barnstable and stealing some venison, beef, butter, cheese, tobacco and bread, was ordered to pay 12 shillings the officers that arrested him, and be publicly whipped."

1647. Mr. Prince with Anthony Thacher, appointed by the General Court to try the case of Nepoytam, Sachamus and Felix, Indians, against whom complaint had been made by Mr. Richard Sears of Yarmouth.—The town of Sandwich was presented for not training the past year.

1648. Thomas Dexter, Jr., miller, of Sandwich, presented "for not having a toll-dish sealed according to order," but "was cleared."

1650, April 22. Thomas Blossom and Josiah Hallet of Yarmouth drowned at Nauset, while on a fishing voyage. Oct. 2. Permission was granted to Mr. Thomas Prence, and others, to form a company for bass fishing at Cape Cod, and to purchase land at such convenient places as they shall choose, the privilege being confirmed to them for the term of three years. A parcel of land, about forty or fifty acres, in the town of Yarmouth, granted to Capt. Standish for his trouble in settling the land titles in that town.

CHAPTER V.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FIRST COMERS.

Who they were and why they came—Social Distinctions—Independents, rather than Puritans—Cattle Raising—Agriculture—Fisheries—How the Forefathers Lived—Malt and Distilled Liquors—Their Dress—Long Hair Denounced—Their Habitations—Their Home Life—Lack of Female Education—Devotional Habits—Roving Adventurers, etc.

THE men who laid the foundations of these towns, and from whom nine-tenths of the present inhabitants are descended, were Englishmen, who were closely identified with the movements for reform in church and state in the mother country. It would not be true to assert, as is sometimes inconsiderately done, that they were driven by religious persecution from their homes to these shores; for a country in which Cromwell and Hampden could be elected to Parliament might still be found a measurably secure dwelling-place for those who adhered to Independency and dissent in religious matters. But it was at the same time true, that the expression of such views had, at a somewhat earlier period, been attended with great hardship and ofttimes with peril; and rather than continue the constant struggle in the mother country, they elected to become self-expatriated exiles, and chose to leave their old homes and build up new ones on these wild and rugged shores. This they undertook for their own advantage and security, with no purpose connected

with other persons or sects, a fact which should be borne in mind and temper our criticisms when their treatment of "strangers" and those of other beliefs is under review and discussion. So far as this region is concerned, the oft quoted assertion of Stoughton, is equally true of its founders, as of the rest of New England, that "God sifted a whole nation to procure the seed out of which this people was to be developed." A glance at their names and a search into their antecedents will show that their ranks embraced men of substance and consideration in the old country. Several clergymen, who had been ejected from their livings for non-conformity, a few persons who were allied to the gentry, and a large number of yeomen and artisans, were of the number. Together with these were a few who came purely from motives of adventure, for business and trade, who were picked up in the cities and the ports of embarkation, to fill vacant places and make up the requisite number of a proposed company. These latter had little sympathy with the objects sought for by the chief settlers, were the source of much vexation and annoyance in future time, and tended to swell the criminal calendar in those years, when even the slightest deviation from the prescribed course was visited with all the rigors of the law.

The social position which each person sustained in the mother country was maintained here, with great tenacity, and the official documents in which names appear will thus indicate the station held and the consideration to which each person was entitled. Goodman and Goodwife were the most usual appellations, Mr. being less common, and Gentleman being rarely appended to the name of any among them. The title of ensign, lieutenant, captain and major, when due to any person, was always punctiliously observed in the writings in which the names appeared. No one was ever permitted to

assume a title, or to be addressed by one, to which he had not a rightful claim. In seating worshippers at church, and in the order of public proceedings, these considerations were given much weight, and were subject to not infrequent review, as the social or official standing of parties was changed or modified by a change in their circumstances in life.

The Independent, rather than the Puritan, element predominated among the settlers on the Cape, which accounts for the degree of tolerance which prevailed here, and the absence of that persecuting spirit which pursued Anabaptists, Quakers, and other sectaries, in the Massachusetts and in some parts of the Plymouth, colonies. As will be seen in the progress of this narrative, many of these sects sought a refuge here, and were hospitably treated by those who had little sympathy with their doctrines—a degree of toleration as rare in those days as it is deserving of recognition and appreciation by their descendents. No instance is on record of any punishment inflicted or disability incurred by direction of any local magistrate of the Cape towns, on account of religious belief or want of such belief, the few cases in which such punishment here was administered, being inflicted by order of the colonial, and not of the town, authorities.

The leading business consideration which entered into the calculation of those who came here, and which governed, in a large degree, their choice of this locality, was the facilities for rearing cattle which the marshes on the borders of the Cape afforded. Stock raising was, at that time, the most important business of the colony. "It pleased God in these times so to bless the country with such access and confluence of people into it, as it was thereby much enriched, and cattle of all kinds stood at a high rate for divers years

together." A cow was sold for £20; sometimes as high even as £28; a goat for £3 or £4. Four two-year-old steers and a bull, which were wintered in Yarmouth, in 1639-40, sold for £83.* Cattle were sent from England to this colony to be kept for a share of the increase, so that "the ancient planters which had any stock began to grow in their estates." These extreme prices were not long maintained, but the business continued for many years sufficiently remunerative to repay the toils of the husbandman.

The cultivation of Indian corn was pursued with success, the soil being specially adapted for that purpose. This was unquestionably the staple crop of the country, being used not only for food for men and animals, but being largely employed as the currency of the colony and taken for debts, taxes, and as a medium for carrying on trade. To say of a man that he "had corn in the crib," was equivalent to saying at this time that he has money in the bank. The cultivation of wheat, which was produced here in the earlier stages of the colony, was partially abandoned about the year 1656, on account of the blast and mildew which infested it, rendering the prospects of a crop precarious. Barley was grown to make malt, of which considerable quantities were consumed. Then, too, pumpkins were found to be of great value. Said one of their writers, "Let no man make a jest of pumpkins, for with this food the Lord was pleased to feed his people to their good content, till corn and cattle were increased." Vegetables were found adapted to the soil, and all but potatoes raised in abundance; these last coming later into use. Fruit was also cultivated, but not of the luscious and developed varieties enjoyed by the present generation. The specimens of the Kentish cherry and the pears that grow upon the few old trees, propagated from the stock introduced

*Plymouth Records.

by the forefathers, are of a coarse and acrid quality, which do not commend themselves to the modern palate.

Though agriculture was necessarily the first and leading pursuit of the settlers, the fisheries at their doors soon diverted a portion of their energies in that direction, and naturally led to the development of other branches of seamanship. In no very long time, voyages for trade and barter of fish, oil, tar, lumber, and other products of the waters and forests, were made to the West Indies and Bermudas, for a supply of the articles of use and luxury produced in those islands. It was not very long before a knowledge of seamanship was acquired, while subsequent generations produced many navigators and sailors of great daring and adventurousness. Two citizens of Truro were the first to voyage to the Falkland Islands for whales. No part of the globe restrained the ambition of those hardy sons of the Cape. Of them in their day it was well said:

"Brave men, who work while others sleep;
Who dare while others fly;
They build a nation's pillars deep,
And lift them to the sky."

The tables of the people were well laden with an abundance of excellent and substantial food. We are indebted to the criminal calendar of the colony for a glimpse into the larder of one of the citizens of Barnstable, who may be regarded as a representative of the average citizen of 1647, only seven or eight years after the settlement. While William Crocker, with his family, was attending meeting on Sunday, one hungry Thomas Shaw removed a palisade and entered Crocker's house, and pilfered the food provided for the family. It consisted of "some venison, some beefe, some butter, cheese, bread and tobacco," a substantial, and sufficiently luxurious, bill of fare. Though smoking was under a legal ban, some of the

best citizens managed to smuggle a little tobacco for occasional use and private refreshment, after a hard day's work, or perhaps a long discourse on Sunday. They always had a supply of home-brewed beer, and spirituous liquors were in common, though perhaps the latter were not in general, use. Malt-houses, for the accommodation of the citizens, were as common as markets for the sale of meats are, at the present day. In the year 1663-4 there were imported into Barnstable and Yarmouth, according to the invoices of the inspectors, 201 gals. 8 cases and 1 cask of liquors, 30 gals. rum, 30 gals. wine, 9 gals. brandy, 10 gals. sack.* This would seem to be an ample and even an abundant supply for the medical wants of a few hundreds of people. Tea and coffee, it will be remembered, had at that time not come into general use.

The peculiarities of dress and outward accoutrements of the forefathers have become familiar to the general reader through the current histories and other literature pertaining to the period. The settlers of the Cape towns were in no sense peculiar in this respect. The costume, both of the males and the females, was in the earlier portions of their history, of the simplest description. Any approach to "vanity in dress" was promptly dealt with by the authorities. But as the worldly affairs of the people began to prosper, they became less rigid in adherence to this policy, and more latitude was allowed in the outward adornment of the person, of both sexes. The common dress for men was breeches, a long vest, with lappets covering the hips, a roundabout coat or jacket, for week days, and for Sabbath a long coat cut a little crosswise, not straight down in front, with a standing collar. The wealthy wore large silver buttons, but for common wear horn was used. They all

*Plymouth Records.

wore round hats at first, but afterwards adopted the pointed hats of the Cavaliers. Long woolen stockings, which extended above the knee and were kept in place by a buckle or strap, and shoes fastened by a long buckle, completed their attire. In summer, stockings and sometimes shoes, were dispensed with, and trousers which extended below the knee were worn. With the female, the petticoat was the principal article of dress. It was made of cloth of domestic manufacture, sometimes colored, of two thicknesses and quilted throughout. On the lower border or front would sometimes be ornamental needle-work. Over this was worn a loose gown, also of domestic manufacture, white, checked or colored. It was open in front, and did not extend so low as the under garment. The sleeves were short, extending a little below the elbow. The neck and breast were ordinarily covered with a handkerchief; on great occasions, with a bodice or a stomacher. Long net gloves or "sleeves" covered the hands when they went out of doors. White worsted stockings and mocasins completed the winter apparel. On great occasions, the wealthy had gayer and more pretentious costumes of foreign fabrics, which were carefully handed down from mother to daughter and granddaughter. Silks, mohair, or "satinstow" garments figure in the inventories of dresses on the probate records. When they went out they wore bonnets, and cloaks of thick cloth with a hood or covering for the head, attached. For many years a bright red or scarlet was the fashionable color for these garments.

The length of the human hair early became an important issue, the wearing of long locks by men coming under the disapprobation of the sober and serious-minded members of society. About the year 1650 the practice was denounced in a paper signed by an association of leading members of

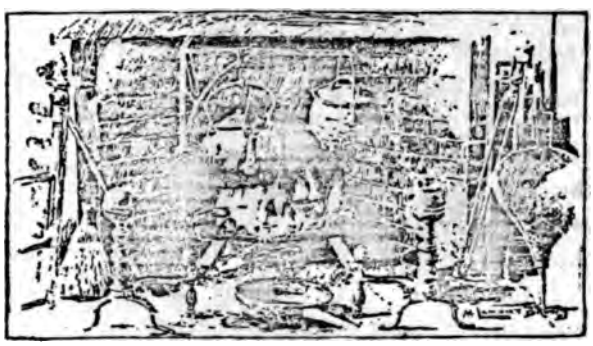
the community, in these words: "Forasmuch as the wearing of long hair, after the manner of the Russians and barbarous Indians, has begun to invade New England, contrary to the rule of God's word and the commendable custom of the godly, until this few years, we, the magistrates, who have subscribed this paper (for the showing of our innocency in this behalf) do declare and manifest our dislike and detestation against the wearing of such long hair, as against a thing uncivil and unmanly, whereby men do deform themselves, and offend sober and modest men and do corrupt good manners." The grand jury were subsequently bound to prevent and the court to punish all such offenders.

The wardrobe of families was also the subject of care on the part of the magistrates. "Excess of apparel, strange new fashions, naked breasts and arms, and pinioned, superfluous ribbons on hair or apparel," were roundly denounced, and subjected the offender to prosecution and all the penalties of the violated law. Milliners, mantua-makers, and fashionable tailors were not in much demand, the apparel of the family being usually manufactured by the female members, without outside assistance.

The first houses of our earlier ancestors were of the simplest and rudest description. They were generally of one story, about twenty feet square, with boarded walls, and a thatched roof, with oiled paper instead of glass for the windows. They were "daubed" in the crevices with mortar to make them air-tight. They cost about five pounds, equal to twenty dollars in silver money in those days. Dr. Thomas Starr of Yarmouth, in 1639, sold to Andrew Hallet a house of this description, which was built by William Chase, together with nineteen acres of land, for ten pounds.* These dwellings answered their purposes while they were

*Plymouth Records.

clearing their fields, constructing roads, and bridges, and setting their plantations in order. After this a better class of frame houses was built. They were all in one style, two stories high, about 20x26 feet square on the ground, with very sharp roofs to shed water. The posts were 12 or 14 feet long, the lower story finished about 7 feet in the clear, and the upper about 6. They all fronted due south, and the "great room," or parlor, occupied the southeast corner. This room was usually about 16 feet square, and was occupied for a kitchen, dining-room and parlor. A bed often occupied the northeast corner, and the looms the



southeast. The sills were hewn from the largest trees in the forest, and projecting with the room, formed a seating place on the south and easterly side. The floor was laid on sleepers that rested on the ground, and it came up even with the lower part of the sill, so that, on entering the front door, which was at the southwest corner, you stepped down about a foot. The fireplace was on the west side, and occupied the whole space from the doorway to within about a foot of the north side of the room, and was usually about four feet deep. The fire was kindled in the centre, leaving

ample chimney-corners where the younger members of the family had seats in cold weather, and could gaze at the stars through the ample flue. The oven opened into the back part of the fireplace on the left hand side. The place of the mistress of the house was on the right hand side near the settle, in the corner; the master's place was a large arm-chair or roundabout placed directly in front of the fire. The rear of the lower floor contained a small room at the northeast corner having a small fireplace, and was sometimes called a kitchen, but not often employed for that purpose. A small room, sometimes occupied as a bedroom, and sometimes for other purposes, was on the east, and at the northeast corner a narrow pantry or closet, in which was a trap door leading into the cellar.

The second story was divided nearly in the same manner as the lower. A large square chamber occupied the space over the parlor, with lodging rooms in the rear. The spacious garret was occupied by servants, and as a general place of deposit. Some of the settlers kept their bee-hives in the garret, placing them on a shelf on the outside in the summer, and removing them inside in winter. Paint was unknown, and excepting the seams and crevices between the boards, few rooms were even plastered. The furniture was of domestic manufacture, the rooms were never carpeted, white sand from the beach spread evenly over the floor and "herrin' boned,"* occupying the place now assigned to tapestry and Brussels. The exceptions to this style were the fortification-houses, of which there were several in the county, which were constructed of large pieces of timber for sills and plates, with boarding on each side, filled in with small stones and clay. This formed the walls of the house, which were plastered with shell mortar, inside and out.

*Otis's Barnstable Families.

The material for estimating the every day and social life of the forefathers is scanty and incomplete. But the casual and imperfect glimpses which we catch of their homes and firesides reveal a picture of domestic happiness and harmony. The relations between the sexes were regulated by rules of strict propriety, and violations of the laws of chastity and decorum were punished with inexorable severity. Children were taught to be obedient, retiring, and most respectful in their demeanor towards their superiors. Their recreations were few, but some of the old games, played by their parents in the fatherland, and some of the folk-lore of the old country, were perpetuated from generation to generation, and are not entirely forgotten even at the present day. The Puritanism of the first generation of our ancestors was not of so intense a type as to cause them to discard entirely the sports of their ancestors, and "hull-gull," "I espy," (corrupted to "hy-spry,") and "thread the needle," held their ground in the popular affection for many years. But the days for pleasure were few and short, and the cares of a busy and anxious existence were soon thrust upon them. The young men were early inured to the duties of a severe discipline, and wrestling, ball playing, and exercises in the manual of arms, trained them to vigor and self-control. General musters were occasions which called great companies together. Weddings and family reunions were almost the only social occasions of the women. Their literary education was inferior even to that of the men. It is rare to find among the signatures to public documents of the early days of the colony, evidences that they could write their names, the wife of Anthony Thacher of Yarmouth, one of the most learned men of the colony, signing as a witness to a will by her mark. Some quite prominent men, indeed, did the same thing, at a time when a knowledge of writing

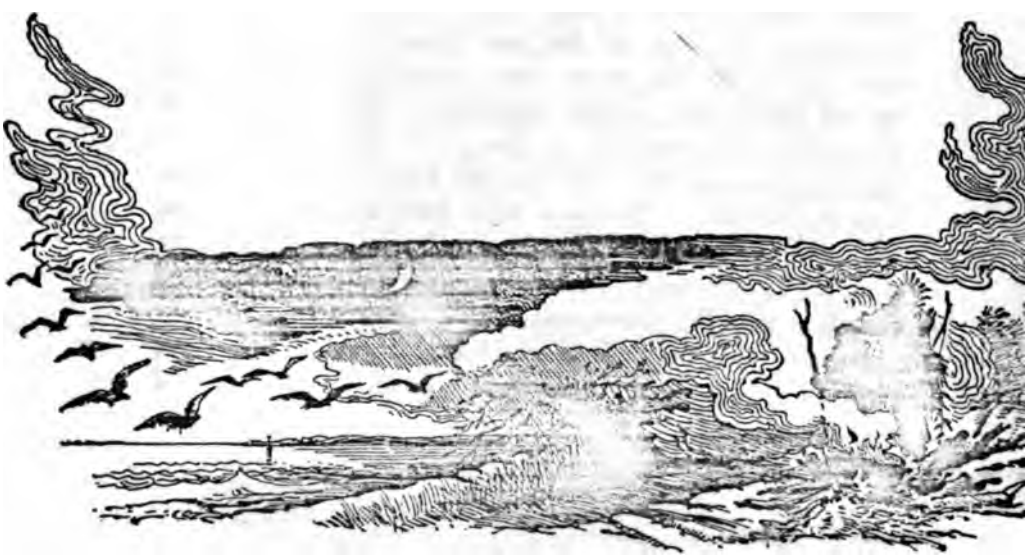
was not considered as essential as it was at a later day.

Family devotions were observed with rigorous punctuality. On Sunday, no matter what the state of the weather, every member of the family attended church. The distance was often eight or ten miles. For many years there was no conveyance for worshippers. The younger people walked all the way, the older ones, when horses came into vogue, riding a part of the distance, tying their horses for those who came after them, who in turn tied theirs, after completing their portion of the journey. To save their shoes, the young people in mild weather carried them in their hands until near the meeting-house, and removed them when returning home. Assembled for worship, the sexton turned the glass when the sermon began, and the preacher kept on till the sand ran out, whether his ideas had run out or not. A short intermission was followed by another service, when the humble worshippers returned to their homes. Sunday began at sundown Saturday night, and ended on Sunday night. With our fathers, Sunday was the "day of all the week the best," not to be desecrated by travel, amusement, or any secular concerns. Any one found upon the road that day was halted by the constable, and, unless he had some very imperative business, was carried before the nearest magistrate. William Chase of Yarmouth was presented by the grand jury, in 1654, for "driving his oxen five miles on the Lord's day during the time of exercise." Two men were fined for sailing a boat from Sandwich to Boston on the Lord's day.* All persons stopping at ordinaries over Sunday were required to attend church or take the consequences.

Besides the permanent residents, these shores were resorted to by adventurers from abroad, for purposes of

*Plymouth Records.

trade or motives of curiosity, or by those seeking to found homes on these western shores. Their intercourse with the settlers was sometimes of advantage, but not always so, and the rights and safety of the permanent settlers were jealously and studiously guarded and defined in the legislation of the colony and the regulations of the different towns. It was only by the rare and infrequent visits of these chance adventurers that the knowledge of occurrences in the motherland was kept alive, and as mails and newspapers were not known for many years afterwards, they had little information of the kindred and friends they had left behind them. Occasional expressions of love and affection for the mother country are found in their earlier writings, but they soon began to transfer to the land of their adoption the attachment due to the shores which were the haven of their children and of the generations yet to come after them. Under these conditions were founded, developed and perpetuated the homes and institutions which are now found existing upon Cape Cod.



CHAPTER VI.

EVENTS FOLLOWING THE SETTLEMENTS.

Eel River Bridge—Dutch War Scare—Drift Whales—Thomas Prence of Eastham elected Governor—Growing Indifference to Religious Ordinances—Ministerial Changes—Labors of Richard Bourne among the Indians—Controversy with William Nickerson of Mannamoit—Legislation respecting the Fisheries—Indian Pledge of Fidelity—Death of Governor Prence and Accession of Josias Winslow.

THE taxation of the three Cape towns for the construction of a bridge over Eel River, in Plymouth, and the public highway leading thereto through the Cape towns, became, soon after the settlement, an important question. The inhabitants of Eel River village having petitioned the Court for repayment in some form of the expense for constructing the bridge, which the Court found to be greatly needed and was much used by travellers from the Cape towns, they were required to make payment for their proportional part of the charge therefor. The Court, in 1649, deemed £15 a proper sum to be contributed by the towns of Sandwich, Barnstable and Yarmouth, which they neglected or declined to pay, believing that this structure ought to be regarded as a local, and not a public, improvement. In 1652, Sandwich, Barnstable and Yarmouth were presented by the Court for non-payment of their share of this charge, and the inhabitants of Eel River commenced a suit against the above towns, and a verdict of £20 was recovered by the plaintiffs, which, after a review,

was again affirmed, and the towns were compelled to contribute according to the verdict of the Court.

Complaint was also made, in 1652, that "the lower way between Sandwich and Barnstable was intercepted," and Mr. Prence and Capt. Standish were ordered to empanel a jury "to lay out as conveniently as they can a country road, unless the town of Barnstable will allow it for a highway." The same were ordered to empanel a jury to lay out the most convenient way from Sandwich to Plymouth. The latter jury consisted of Anthony Thacher, Thomas Dexter, Thos. Hinckley, Wm. Hedge, Edward Bangs, Joseph Rogers, John Wing, John Ellis, Henry Dillingham, James Skiff, John Finney, Jona. Hatch and Wm. Bassett. This jury reported on the location as follows: "Beginning at Sandwich and so beginning at Goodman Black's house on the right hand, running across the swamp over the river, and so on a nor'-north-west line falling upon Eel River," etc. This was the first public highway legally laid out from Sandwich to Plymouth, and was substantially the one used for more than two centuries in going from the Cape to the latter town.

In consequence of the threatening aspect of the relations between England and Holland, the Court directed the several towns to send deputies to meet the magistrates April 6, 1653, "to treat and conclude upon such military affairs as, through God's blessings, may possibly tend to our present and future safety." Sandwich sent James Skiff; Barnstable, Lieut. Fuller and Sergeant Thomas Hinckley; Yarmouth, Sergeant Thomas Rider and John Gorham; Eastham, John Doane and Richard Sparrow. Vigorous measures were taken to place the colony in a state of defence. They appointed a council of war, who made provision for the immediate bringing into the field of 60 men, whereof

Sandwich was required to furnish 6, Yarmouth 6, Barnstable 6, and Eastham 3. The most minute and comprehensive plan of operations was deemed necessary. The anticipated collision with Manhattan did not however occur. The great victory of Admiral Blake over the Dutch fleet established the supremacy of the English arms so decisively, that their antagonists on the continent had sufficient care for the time to attend to their own defence, without interfering with the English possessions in her colonies.

The alarm which had subsided at this time was again revived in 1667, unfriendly designs being feared from the French as well as the Dutch, both of whom the council proclaimed as "common enemies." The council ordered that during any appearance of danger a military watch be kept in every town. The members of this council for this year were as follows: Sandwich, Richard Bourne, Wm. Bassett, James Skiff, Sr.; Barnstable, Thomas Hinckley, Nathaniel Bacon, John Chipman; Yarmouth, Anthony Thacher, Edmund Hawes, Thomas Howes; Eastham, Lieut. Freeman, Josias Cooke, Richard Higgins. Pending the disputes with the Dutch, new Indian difficulties arose with the Narragansett tribe, who attacked the Indians who were under the protection of the English, and whose cause they were bound by treaty obligations to espouse. The Commissioners of the Colonies urged the raising of a body of troops to convey a message to Nianti, sachem, to compel him to desist from his hostile proceedings. Of this number Yarmouth, Sandwich and Eastham were required to furnish four each, and Barnstable five. The troops accomplished their purpose, without a hostile encounter.

The ownership of drift whales cast upon the shores of the different towns was for some years a source of difference and controversy. In 1661, Constant Southworth, colonial

treasurer, made a proposition for compromise to the towns of the Cape, to the effect that finders of whales should pay one hogshead of oil in Boston, for each whale so found. The committee appointed by the town of Yarmouth, to debate and determine the difference, agreed to the proposition, and there is no record of the action of the other towns, the general presumption being that they, too, acceded to the proposition of the Court, made through their treasurer.

In 1657, Thomas Prence of Eastham was elected Governor of Plymouth colony, an office which he had held twice before, previous to his removal from Plymouth. By a law enacted in 1633, it was provided "that the chief government be tied to Plymouth, and that the governor for the time being be tied there to keep his residence and dwelling; and there also to hold such courts as concern the whole." But a dispensation was granted in this case, so desirous were the people to secure the services of Mr. Prence. He continued to reside in Eastham, until the inconveniences of the arrangement became so great that in 1664 he was induced to remove again to Plymouth, a house being provided for him, and suitable provision being made for his entertainment there. The cares and responsibilities of the office were very great and increasing, and it was difficult to procure the services of a competent person for the position, so averse were the men of those days to public employment.

The Cape towns, during the period of Governor Prence's residence here, held a relative importance in the colony greater than at any subsequent portion of their history. Gov. Prence's partiality for Eastham was justified by the facilities which the town afforded for both agriculture and the fisheries, which, even at this day, are retained in some portions of her former territory. Four times each year, at

least, the governor made the journey to Plymouth, to attend the sessions of the general court or the court of assistants. Starting from his home, he passed by the house of Kenelm Winslow, brother of the former governor, Edward, who lived in Harwich (now known as Brewster). A little farther along was the residence of Richard Sears, another leading man of the colony; still farther, the homes of John Crow, Thomas Howes, Anthony Thacher and Edward Sturgis, both the latter of whom kept ordinaries, where refreshments were procured for man and beast, and the latter of whom could spread a table with a display of plate larger than any person in this part of the territory, and befitting the state and dignity of a governor. In Barnstable, he came to the homes of the Gorhams and Lothrops, and here, also, he doubtless met Thomas Hinckley, for many years an assistant, and destined to be his successor in the government. Mr. Hinckley was not a wealthy man, but he had an opulent neighbor, Mr. Thomas Allen, who entertained the governor and suite upon these journeys to and fro, with suitable state, providing a bountiful table and a private room, for conferences with those repairing to the governor on business. From Barnstable he passed through East Sandwich, where, we may feel quite sure, he avoided intercourse with the citizens, the greater part of whom were sympathizers with the Quakers, and were in bitter opposition to the government. Doubtless, too, he had but little intercourse with the leading citizen of that town, Mr. Edmund Freeman, who, it was well known, was utterly opposed to the policy of the government in their dealings with the Quakers. Mr. Richard Bourne and Mr. Thomas Tupper of this town, though men of tolerant views, were not so greatly estranged from Mr. Prence's policy as Mr. Freeman, and special sessions of the magistrates were

sometimes held at Mr. Bourne's house. From Sandwich, through the long stretch of wood, past "Sacrifice Rock" and over Eel River, the retinue approached the seat of government, and met the leading men of this colony of four thousand population, and some two hundred voters, more than one-third of whom inhabited the northern shores of Cape Cod.

Soon after the settlement of the towns, complaint was made, both here and in other parts of the colony, of the prevalence of indifference to, or dissatisfaction with the ordinances of religion as administered and expounded in the churches. This was the result partly of a reaction from the rigorous and restraining doctrines of Puritanism, and in some degree the result of reflection and free inquiry on religious themes which was abroad in the community. In an especial manner the ministerial office and church organization were growing in disesteem, and men were beginning to exercise their own spiritual gifts instead. This tendency was rigorously dealt with by the authorities. The Court ordered "that if any slothful or profane persons, in any of the towns, neglect to attend public worship, they shall pay for each offence ten shillings or be publicly whipped." In the application of this order, all persons who, for any reason, did not attend public worship, were deemed either "lazy, slothful or profane," and fined accordingly. Among those presented by the grand jury for "not frequenting the public worship of God" were a number of citizens of Sandwich, who afterwards were prominently identified with the Quaker schism, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, for several years one of the assistants, and others, who simply staid away from the place of worship from dissatisfaction with the removal of Mr. Leverich from the pastorate of the church, and their distrust of the gifts and

spiritual insight of those who had supplanted him. Ralph Allen, Sr., and Richard Kerby, of the same town, were also bound over in the sum of £20 each, "for deriding and villifying speeches of and concerning God's word and ordinances," another way of saying that they dissented from the construction placed upon scriptural texts by those who were in authority at that time. These occurrences were the beginning of that series of events which subsequently led to the Quaker schism, a movement in which the protests and discontents of former years found their logical expression.

The disaffection on the part of the congregations resulted in several changes in ministerial incumbency of the Cape towns. Mr. Leverich of Sandwich, having, as already seen, incurred the hostility of a portion of his people, his position was rendered extremely irksome and distasteful. He was arraigned by the Court, at the instigation of his enemies, for exchanging with an Indian a gun for some commodity, and subsequently was fined £15. He was spoken of in contemporaneous writings, as "a man of great piety and meekness," but his theological teachings were criticised with much rancor by his opponents, which led him "to seek a quiet recess at Long Island," and he subsequently settled at Oyster Bay, laboring with great usefulness and success with the people of that place, Huntington, and Newtown, for many years thereafter. After the departure of Mr. Leverich there was no settled minister in that town for several years. Mr. Tupper, who was not an ordained minister, though in favor with the government, officiated to a portion of the people. Mr. Richard Bourne, also a layman, occupied the pulpit for a portion of the time. Neither of these persons was entirely acceptable to the friends of Mr. Leverich. About the year 1658, Rev. John Smith, who had previously officiated in Barnstable, became

the regular successor of Mr. Leverich, and continued in that relation for many years, Messrs. Bourne and Tupper turning their attention to the Indians, in which field Mr. Bourne, especially, filled a sphere of great usefulness and success. In Barnstable, Mr. Lothrop having died in 1653, no one was found to take the leading position, which from his talents and character, he held in the church and town. Mr. Lothrop was succeeded by Rev. Wm. Sargent, the length of whose ministry, as also of that of Rev. John Smith and of Mr. John Mayo, are not certainly known. In 1663, Rev. Thomas Walley became the minister of Barnstable, and was a distinguished and influential man in his day, though subject to many annoyances from the Quaker element of the town. Quakerism was not the only form of dissent which was manifest here. Secretary Morton, writing in 1654, records "great divisions in the Barnstable church, occasioned by one John Cook, an Anabaptist." Mr. Walley's treatment of dissenters of all shades was characterized by great prudence and consideration, which doubtless contributed to allay the excitement and compose the theological difficulties which had before existed in this town.

During these years, Rev. John Miller, the pastor of the Yarmouth church, was ministering to a society somewhat divided in sentiment, partly in consequence of the survival of old discontents and partly owing to the prevalence of the spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction which was abroad in other communities, and which had its reflection and expression here. Mr. Miller resigned his position about the year 1661, and Mr. Walley, before settling in Barnstable, resided in this town, owned lands and was connected with the society and church here. About the year 1663, Rev. Thomas Thornton, a member of the established church of

England, who was ejected from his living the year before by the Act of Conformity, commenced his labors with the Yarmouth society, although his installation into the pastoral office did not occur until 1667. Mr. Thornton, in learning, native ability and character, was the equal of any of his contemporaries in the Plymouth colony, but it illustrates the critical spirit of the times, that a man of his gifts and fitness for his work should have had to encounter fierce and bitter opposition in the incipiency of his ministry. A communication which has recently seen the light, signed by fifteen leading members of the church, and addressed to the governor and assistants of the colony, defends the character of his services and repels aspersions upon the doctrinal quality of his sermons, which had been employed to prevent his settlement in the town. This vindication appears to have been successful, and the connection with the church, thus formed, continued until near the close of the century.

While these controversies and mutual recriminations between heated sectaries were proceeding in all the surrounding communities, one eminent and devoted man entered upon the work of piety and good will towards the aboriginal inhabitants, whose minds had not, as yet, been illumined by the light of civilization or the precepts of christianity. Mr. Richard Bourne, who has already been mentioned as one of the original settlers of Sandwich, and who had labored in the pulpit after the departure of Mr. Leverich, conceived the idea of gathering the Indians of Mashpee into a community by themselves, organizing them as a civil society, teaching them the truths of the gospel, and, as fast as might be, connecting them together under a church discipline. The first grant was made for the promotion of this project about the year 1661. His entire parish embraced the region from Middleboro to Provincetown.

The Apostle Eliot and Cotton assisted at his ordination. His work was crowned with marked success. In a letter to Major Gookin, dated many years later (Sept. 1, 1674,) he said he was the only Englishman employed in this extensive region, and the results of his labors are stated in a return, of which this is a condensed abstract: "Praying Indians that do frequently meet together on the Lord's day to worship God." He names twenty-two places where meetings were held. The number of men and women who attended these meetings was 309. Young men and maids 188. Whole number of praying Indians 497. Of these, 142 could read the Indian language, 72 could write, and 9 could read English. Statistics, however, fail to indicate the influence of these labors upon the welfare of the colonists. In the Indian war which followed, the important results of Mr. Bourne's efforts were felt, contributing powerfully to the safety of the colonists. What a contrast his work presents to the fierce and fanatical strife which was going on around him, of the professed followers of the Prince of Peace, hanging and scourging men and women of a like faith, for following the "inward light" and wearing their hats in public assemblies!

The long controversy between the authorities and Wm. Nickerson, growing out of his attempts to acquire titles of lands at Monnamoit, was brought to a close in the year 1672. The difficulties commenced sixteen years before. For buying land of the Indians, and selling them a boat, in 1656, Mr. Nickerson was disfranchised. Nothing daunted, he the next year petitioned to have his lands confirmed to him, and it was ordered that "the lands be viewed, and that he have a competency allowed him, and the rest be resigned to the government." In 1659, he was "allowed his lands." In 1663, he and his sons and his sons-in-law petitioned for

liberty to settle a township at Monnamoit. In 1665, he was again charged with illegally purchasing land of the Indians, "submitted himself to the clemency of the court," and was allowed one hundred acres near his house. The rest of the land at Monnamoit was granted "to Mr. Thomas Hinckley, Mr. John Freeman, Mr. William Sargent, Mr. Anthony Thacher, Nathaniel Bacon, Edmund Hawes, Thomas Howes, Sr., and Lieut. Joseph Rogers, in equal proportions, said Nickerson to have an equal proportion with them in the meadow lands." It was ordered that all said lands appertain to and shall be "within the limits of the township of Yarmouth." The penalty of £5 for every acre illegally purchased of the Indians by said Nickerson was remitted. Other persons having purchased lands in Monnamoit, without a grant from the Court, and conflicting with the rights of the aforesaid parties, a compromise was effected in 1672, Mr. Nickerson agreeing to pay them a valuable consideration; and a grant was made to him by the general court, confirming his claim in the face of former controversies; and the settlement of Monnamoit proceeded without further impediment. Mr. Nickerson and his family had the full control of the town in its incipient stages. This statement of the official steps taken in the progress of the controversy gives little idea, however, of the bitterness and angry feelings engendered, which extended to the church and the social relations of the parties. Mr. Nickerson and his sons were arraigned, in 1667, for scandalously reproaching the Court, in a letter to the Governor of New York, and put under bonds to the amount of £500. The next year he was called upon to answer for words spoken against the preaching of Mr. Thornton. He and his sons were also set in the stocks for resisting the constable in the performance of his duty; and refusing to find sureties for future good behavior, he

was committed to prison and remained three days, at the end of which time he relented, found the required sureties, and was released. Mr. Nickerson, in other transactions, had shown himself to be possessed of a litigious disposition and a temper of some acerbity, but he does not appear to have been entirely without provocation in these transactions of the court. In 1674, Monnamoit, which had been for nine years "within the liberties of Yarmouth," together with Satucket, was included within the township of Eastham.

The fisheries early attracted the attention of the colonists. The Commissioners of the United Colonies, in 1659, recommended to the several general courts, to regulate the taking of mackerel, "conceiving that fish to be the most staple commodity of the country." The Cape fisheries, both cod and mackerel, were of the first importance, and the fishery privileges became a matter of contention between eager rivals. "Strangers" were taxed by the court for the privilege of "fishing at the Cape," and other enactments were made, which will be set forth in a chapter devoted to the subject.

The Indians of the Colony of New Plymouth, engaged themselves to fidelity to the English, the 10th of April, 1671, and subscribed to the agreement "by some of the chief of them," at the Court held in Plymouth the 7th of June of the same year. This engagement was entered into doubtless, in consequence of the threatening attitude of Philip, whose conduct had already begun to excite suspicions in the minds of the colonists. Several Cape sachems were among the subscribing parties, among them the mark of John Quaqaquansuke, of Paomett, John Quason Taswott, of Monnamcick, his mark; of Sachemus and Little Robin and Wahoonettshunke; the mark of Sabatubkett; Katemet,

alias Sampson of Nobscussett; Katemet, alias Katenat, of Mattacheesett, his mark; and "Sampson of Nauset is sick and is not come;" "Humphrey of Weequahutt, is not come." The need of strengthening good relations between the English and the neighboring Indians was felt and appreciated at this time. It will be seen that this foresight and precaution of the fathers was not at fault, and that they stood in sore need of all the aid and friendship that were available, in the dark times which had already begun to cast their shadow over the land.

In 1673 Gov. Thomas Prence died, and was succeeded by Josias Winslow. Gov. Prence was of a stern, unyielding and austere temperament. In his dealings with the Quakers he was severe and uncompromising, evincing no sympathy with those who presumed to differ from him and his associates, in matters of belief. Theologically, he was a Puritan, rather than an Independent. Toleration and independence of thought were not permitted in the slightest degree. On the other hand, it ought to be said to his credit, that Gov. Prence's enlightened views and policy on the subject of popular education were in advance of the times, and reflected credit upon his administration.

Upon his accession to the government, Mr. Winslow reversed the policy of his predecessor in the treatment of the Quakers. This showed progress on his part; for in the earlier stages of this controvery, while an assistant of the governor, he had evinced much repugnance to these sectaries, and appeared to be partially in sympathy with Gov. Prence and his other associates. It is to his credit that he retraced the false steps with which he started. A result of the new policy of the government was the restoration of James Cudworth and Isaac Robinson to their rights as freemen — men whose services, particularly those of

Cudworth, proved of the highest value and importance in the terrible struggle near at hand.

The history of the early Quaker persecution in this county presents the spectacle of the magistrates of the colony on one side and the body of the people of the Cape on the other. This dark, pathetic and saddening story will be told in a separate chapter.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS, 1650–1672.

1652. Capt. Standish was appointed to rectify the bounds between Barnstable and Sandwich.—The wife of Tristram Hull of Barnstable was warned by the Court to desist from hindering the servant of Samuel Mayo from performing faithful service to her master.—The town of Sandwich was presented for not having a common stock of powder and shot.—Jonathan Hatch of Barnstable was presented for furnishing an Indian with a gun and ammunition, but "cleared."—Mr. Prince of Eastham, Mr. Howes of Yarmouth, John Chipman of Barnstable, and Richard Bourne of Sandwich, were appointed to receive from these several towns "the oil of the country."

1653. Josias Haliet and Thomas Gage of Yarmouth were presented by the court "for profaning the Lord's day, by putting forth to sea from Sandwich harbor on the Lord's day," and fined.

1654. A vessel belonging to Mr. Samuel Mayo, of Barnstable, employed in conveying the goods of Mr. Leverich from Sandwich to Oyster Bay, Long Island, was seized by the authorities of Rhode Island. Commissioners were appointed by the Plymouth authorities to look into the matter, and the act was disavowed by the government.—Wm. Chase, of Yarmouth, presented for driving a yoke of oxen on the Lord's day, in time of exercise, about five miles.—Mashantampaine, sachem of Yarmouth, was accused of "stealing a gun, and that his dogs injured the cattle of the inhabitants," and that "he had in his possession a chest of tools," the inference being that they were not his. On the first charge he was acquitted; on the last two, inquiry was ordered, and we hear no more of the matter.—Sandwich was presented for not providing stocks and whipping posts; also for not having a full complement of arms. Eastham was presented for not having a pound.—It appearing that injury had been done by horses to to the Indians' corn at Manomet, it was ordered that the damage must be paid, and Mr. Freeman was authorized to have the matter properly adjusted.—The bounty on wolves was ordered to be paid, as follows: Barnstable 9, Yarmouth 6, Sandwich 4, Eastham 4.

1657. A controversy between the sachem Yanno, or Janno, and the inhabitants of Yarmouth, about the title to lands, was referred to

John Alden and Lieut. Southworth, who decreed that the title of the inhabitants shall be confirmed, and that the sachem shall have paid to him six coats, six pair small breeches, ten hoes, ten hatchets, two brass kettles and one iron kettle.

1658. The town of Sandwich voted to authorize Thomas Tobey to pay 15 shillings to the Indians for every wolf killed by them.

1659. James Skiff, chosen by the town of Sandwich for deputy, was rejected by the court, on account of his proclivities in favor of the Quakers.

1661-2. Rev. John Smith and others of the Barnstable church, having seceded and formed themselves into another and distinct society, a council of neighboring churches was held, which disowned the seceders, renounced fellowship with them, and called upon the churches to do the same.

1662. The rates for public charges were as follows: Sandwich, 10 pounds, 2 shillings, 0 pence; Yarmouth, 10 pounds, 2, 0; Barnstable, 11 pounds, 2, 0; Eastham, 8 pounds, 2, 0.

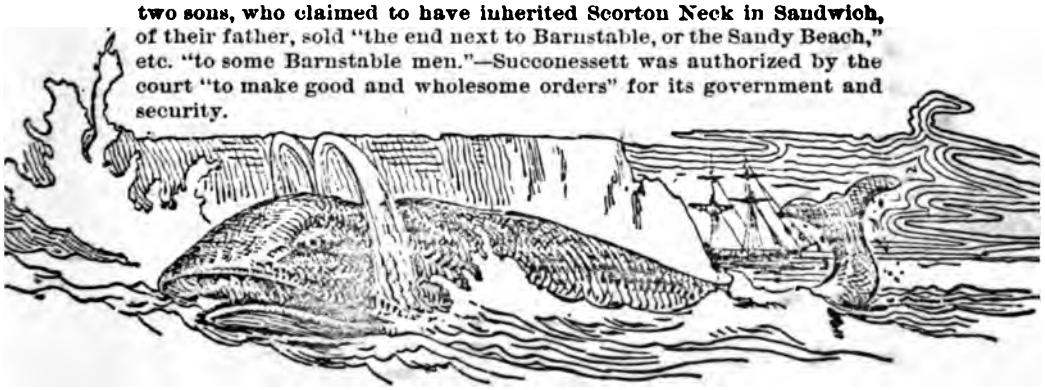
1663. Kenelm Winslow, Jr., of Yarmouth, was fined 10 shillings "for riding on the Lord's day," although he pleaded necessity.—Mr. Hinckley, Thomas Dexter, Jr., and Constant Southworth, appointed to settle the bounds between Sandwich and Plymouth.—It was ordered "that Sacconessett shall, for the present, belong to Barnstable."

1665. Robert Harper was publicly whipped by order of the court, "for disturbing public worship in Sandwich and Barnstable;" and Richard Willis was set in the stocks "for ribaldry." These persons persisted in going to the places of public worship, and "bearing their testimony" while the services were progressing.

1668. Francis, sachem of Nauset, was fined 10 pounds, "for uncivil and inhuman words to Capt. Allen, at Cape Cod, when cast away."—General military musters were ordered to be held on the second Wednesday of the ensuing year, at Plymouth, Yarmouth and Taunton.

1671. Certain persons in Hull petitioned the government "for permission to fish at Cape Cod for mackerel, they having discovered a new method of fishing with nets by moonlight."

1672. The laws, hitherto in manuscript only, were, for the first time, printed and distributed to the towns of the colony.—Seecunk and his two sons, who claimed to have inherited Scorton Neck in Sandwich, of their father, sold "the end next to Barnstable, or the Sandy Beach," etc. "to some Barnstable men."—Succonessett was authorized by the court "to make good and wholesome orders" for its government and security.



CHAPTER VII.

THE EARLIEST QUAKERS.

Appearance of the first Quakers—Repressive Statutes—"Thomas Hinckley's Law"—Holden and Copeland whipped at Barnstable—Barlow's Appointment as Marshal—Prosecution of Sandwich people for harboring Quakers—Cudworth and Isaac Robinson disfranchised for defending them—"The Inward Light" the basis of Quakerism—Cape Quakers neither abusive nor indecent—No legal warrant for their persecution.

HE Quaker persecution, which left so dark a blot upon the generation in which it transpired, cannot in any considerable degree reflect upon the citizens of the Cape communities, where these events occurred, and the responsibility for which rests with the colonial authorities, urged and goaded on by the ruling classes of Massachusetts Bay. "The people called Quakers," but who themselves took the name of "Friends," began to trouble the Puritans of Boston and Massachusetts Colony about the year 1656. In July of that year, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin arrived in Boston from England. No law forbid their coming, and no proof of the character of these women or of their purposes was in the possession of the authorities. They were immediately, without arraignment or examination, imprisoned and treated with the greatest indignities. A month later, eight others of this sect arrived from London. They were also imprisoned, and the books which they brought were confiscated and destroyed. Sentence

of banishment was passed upon them, and the masters of the vessels which brought them, were required to carry them out of the colony. Then followed repressive laws, resulting in fines, scourgings, imprisonments, and the hanging of four persons, including one woman.

Owing to the fierce persecution which the Quakers encountered in Massachusetts, many of them crossed over into the more tolerant region of the Plymouth jurisdiction; the first town in which they were found in considerable numbers being Scituate. The great body of the people, including Mr. Hatherly and Mr. Cudworth, while not accepting their religious theories, tried to shield them from persecution. But these brave and liberal men only drew upon themselves the indignation and censure of the authorities. The Commissioners of the Colonies, one of which — the powerful colony of Massachusetts Bay — was the leading factor, recommended the several colonies to pass and enforce more stringent laws for the suppression of heresy. The Plymouth colony hesitated, but finally complied. It was at first attempted to accomplish this purpose by enforcing a law passed some years previous, which provided "that if any neglect the worship of God in the place where he lives, and set up a worship contrary to God and the allowances of this government, to the public profanation of God's holy day and ordinances, he shall pay 10 shillings." The effort to enforce this law failed, because the offender must be convicted of doing all these things, in order to become liable to the penalty provided. Gen. Cudworth states the curious fact, that in March, 1658, a court of deputies was called, when, after passing sundry acts relating to the Quakers, they contrived to make this law efficacious by quietly erasing the word "and" in the act, and substituting "or" therefor; which, being disjunctive instead of conjunc-

tive, made both branches of the act operative. This alteration, says Cudworth, though made in 1658, stands upon the record as the work of 1651, and was enforced to the letter against the Quakers.* This law which was referred to in some of the writings of the time as, "Thomas Hinckley's law," was understood to have been drafted by Mr. Hinckley when he was a deputy, to meet another class of cases, and he was no more responsible than his associates for its changed and obnoxious form.

The additional laws passed in Plymouth colony, in accordance with the suggestions of the Commissioners, though less severe than those enacted by Massachusetts, were yet violative of the rights of conscience and hospitality. They required any one bringing Quakers into the colony to return them from the place whence they came, under a penalty of 20s. per day after giving warning; forbade entertaining them under a penalty of £5 every day, or of being whipped; required that any one knowing of the presence of a Quaker should inform the authorities, and that such Quaker, when apprehended, should be sent to jail until he should pay the cost of his imprisonment and transportation; that any such persons holding Quaker meeting be fined 40s. each for every speaker, and 10s. for hearers who were heads of families, and 40s. for the owner of the place of meeting; that strolling Quakers be sent to the House of Correction; that their books and writings be subject to seizure; that those entertaining Quakers be subject to a fine of £5, or be whipped; that such persons coming into any town be committed to jail, and enjoined to depart out of the government, in default of which to be whipped; that any person permitting a Quaker meeting in his house, be publicly whipped or pay £5; that no Quaker be admitted

*Cudworth's Letter to Brown, 1658.

as a freeman; that freemen who became Quakers or encouragers of them, should lose their freedom; that their horses might be seized by any person who should deliver them over to the constable, and that the same should be liable to be forfeited to the use of the government; that any one bringing in or becoming a guide to a Quaker, shall be fined £10. These inhuman statutes, enacted at different periods from 1657 to 1661, were modified or repealed, and others enacted in their place, as the circumstances seemed to the court to demand.

These prohibitions and penalties did not, however, deter the people from extending offices of Christian hospitality to all who sought them in their distress, and thus incurring the displeasure of the government. As early as 1657, two Friends, Christopher Holden and John Copeland, landed at Rhode Island, and going thence to Martha's Vineyard, where Mayhew, the Indian missionary, caused them to be conveyed to the mainland, they set their feet upon the Cape soil at Succannesset, Aug. 20, of that year, and proceeded at once to Sandwich. Events which had preceded their coming had prepared the way for the reception of the doctrines preached by them. There was a considerable number in this town who were unsettled in their church relations, who were doubtful of the propriety of stated preaching, and who believed it the duty of Christians, without human ordination, to exercise their own gifts in the ministry. In consequence of the prevailing unsettlement of opinion, the minister, Mr. Leverich, had left his flock and gone to Long Island. The preaching of Holden and Copeland was hailed with feelings of satisfaction by those who found but little food in stated preaching or forms of worship. Not less than eighteen families in Sandwich were on record the next year as professing Quakerism. The fires of persecution were at

once kindled. Complaint was made, in 1657, against several persons for meeting on the Lord's days at the house of Wm. Allen of Sandwich, "and inveighing against ministers and magistrates, to the dishonor of God and the contempt of government." Jane Sanders and Sarah Kirby of the same town, "for disturbance of public worship, and for abusing the minister," were sentenced to be publicly whipped. It was further ordered that Nicholas Upsal, alleged instigator of all this disturbance, "be carried out of this government by Tristram Hull, who brought him." This was a case of great hardship. Upsal was an old man, a member in good standing of the Boston church. An eye-witness to the cruelties practised upon the Quakers who first came over, he entered his protest against these transactions. He was arrested, fined £20, and banished from the colony, on the charge of having "reproached the magistrates and spoken against the law." Thus banished, he went to Plymouth, but there the people were forbidden to entertain him. A Cape man, who was transiently there, had compassion on his sufferings, and took him under his protection, as far, at least, as Sandwich. The hospitality of the people was not denied him, and hence his entertainers and benefactors were followed by the penalties of the law. Wherever he went his persecutors followed him. In the language of the poet Whittier, applied to another, he could say:

"My life is hunted; evil men
Are following on my track;
The traces of the torturer's whip
Are on my aged back."

Other persons in Sandwich were arraigned for entertaining Quakers, and for language implying censure of the government, and admonished and fined, according to the degree of their offence. In the following March, Peter Gaunt, Daniel Wing, Ralph Allen, Jr. and William Allen, of Sandwich,

were arraigned for "tumultuous carriage at a meeting of Quakers," were convicted, admonished and fined. A considerable number of citizens of that town were summoned before the court to give a reason for not taking the oath of fidelity to the government, and answered that they held it unlawful to take an oath; and they were also fined. So general was the dissatisfaction with the government in Sandwich that the constable, William Bassett, reported that he was opposed in the execution of his office, and was unable to collect the rates or the fines levied on the Quakers, Cudworth stating that almost all of that town adhered to the new sect. At a subsequent court, the marshal was ordered to levy a fine of 40s. upon William Allen for permitting a Quaker meeting in his house, and Lieutenant Fuller of Barnstable, for speaking reproachfully of the court, and for saying the law enacted about ministers' maintenance was "a wicked and devilish law, and that the devil sat at the stern when the law was enacted," was fined 40s. Extraordinary excitement everywhere prevailed; and it is not strange that a class thus proscribed and persecuted should say many extravagant things, and perform some acts which do not meet the requirements of the canons of good taste. It would hardly be surprising if persons in their situation were guilty of greater offences than a mere breach of the laws of politeness.

In this posture of affairs, the court resorted to the expedient of creating an officer for the especial purpose of enforcing the laws against heresy, with jurisdiction extending over the towns of Sandwich, Barnstable, and Yarmouth, in which the local authorities, to their everlasting honor, refused to act. For this office they appointed George Barlow, a man who, by his character and conduct in office, brought disgrace upon the law, if that were possible, and

certainly upon the government whose creature he was. Barlow set about his work with a zeal which commended his fitness for the business upon which he was engaged. June 23, he arrested Holden and Copeland, the two Quaker preachers, while on their way to the meeting in Sandwich. They had been sentenced to banishment from the colony on the second of February preceding, and had been whipped at Plymouth, subsequently, for not complying with the order of the court. Barlow carried them before the selectmen of Sandwich, who had been appointed in the absence of a magistrate to witness the execution of the law. They, "entertaining no desire to sanction measures so severe towards those who differed from them in religion, declined to act in the case." Barlow kept the prisoners in his house six days, and then carried them to Barnstable, before Thomas Hinckley, one of the magistrates, and assistant of Governor Prence. After an examination, they were tied to an old post and thirty-two cruel stripes were laid upon their naked backs. There were many spectators present, one of whom, in the anguish of her spirit, exclaimed, "How long, Lord, shall it be, ere thou avenge the blood of thine elect?" And afterwards, bewailing herself, added, "Did I forsake father and mother, and all my relations, to come to New England for this? Did I ever come to New England for this? Who could have thought it?" It was indeed a day of humiliation for Barnstable.

Other repressive measures were resorted to. Sundry citizens of Sandwich, the greater part of whom, if not the whole, were Quakers, having petitioned the court for a redress of their grievances, the governor and his associates, at a court held at the house of Mr. Richard Bourne, assumed that they had not been legally admitted as inhabitants, and, therefore, refused them all redress, notwithstanding that

they had lived there and occupied their estates from the earliest time, and were actually townsmen, though perhaps not technically freemen. They were, therefore, forbidden, at a session of the court held in October, to act in any town-meeting, or to claim any privileges as townsmen. By this decision nearly one-half of the Sandwich Quakers were disfranchised. At the same court, eleven Sandwich men were fined £5 each, for refusing to take the oath of fidelity. The proceedings at this court were turbulent and disorderly in the extreme. The Quakers, it must be admitted, were irritating in their demeanor and disrespectful to the magistrates, using language which no court at this day would submit to or allow to be used, without committing the offenders for contempt. Governor Prence and Mr. Winslow also appear to poor advantage in the accounts which have been preserved of their demeanor on this occasion. Bishop states that the latter "showed much vehemence and fierceness of spirit" against the Quakers, "sometimes starting up and smiting the table with a stick, then with his hand, then stamping with his foot, saying he "could not bear it;" "Let them have the strapado." But the court did not proceed to the extreme of inflicting corporal punishment; the fines and disabilities which followed were, however, severe, and bore with great hardship upon their victims. During this trial, Mr. Hinckley and Capt. Willet, who were associate magistrates, seem not to have indulged in controversy with the accused, and thus escaped the denunciation of these sharp-tongued controversialists.

In December following, Barlow was ordered by the court to proceed to Manomet to apprehend all Quakers who came into the country by sea at that place, and to seize their boats and tackle, and bring the Quakers before a magistrate. At

the same time a summons was sent for James Skiff, one of the most substantial citizens of Sandwich, "to answer to such things as shall be objected against him, in regard to traducing the law about refusing to take the oath of fidelity." Mr. Skiff was subsequently rejected as a deputy from Sandwich for his utterances against the proceedings in relation to these transactions.

Barlow's inclinations and activity seem to have led him in the direction of East Sandwich, where the thrifty and industrious husbandmen resided, and where he could levy upon the produce of their fields and herds. This he did without any compunction or any apparent feeling of compassion for the sufferers. William Allen's fines amounted to £86, 17s., £40 for twenty meetings at his house, £4 for attending meetings in other places, £5 for entertaining Quakers, £25 for refusing to take the oath of fidelity, £1 for refusing to take off his hat in court, and the balance for expenses. In payment for these fines 18 head of cattle were taken from him, 1 mare, 2 colts, besides other goods. These distraints were made by Barlow at different times. Allen was nearly ruined by these spoliations, and having ventured into the jurisdiction of Massachusetts was also arrested and thrown into jail. His house, lands, a cow "left out of pity for his family," and a little corn were all that remained. Barlow appeared on the scene to make additional distraints. He was drunk and brutal. He seized the corn, the cow, and a bag of meal, which a kind friend had just brought from the mill. This was insufficient for his greed. He seized the copper kettle, the only one remaining, and then mockingly addressing Mrs. Allen, said, "Now Priscilla, how will thee cook for thyself and thy family? thou hast no kettle." She meekly replied, "George, that God who hears the young ravens when they cry will

provide for them. I trust in that God, and verily believe that the time will come when thy necessity will be greater than mine." He carried off the goods, but remembered the testimony, and lived to see it verified.

William Allen was not the only sufferer. Edward Perry, his neighbor, a man of wealth and education, endured greater pecuniary loss. Robert Harper had his house, lands, and all that he had, taken, and suffered besides, cruel imprisonments and punishments. Thomas Johnson, a weaver, was stripped of all his possessions. William Gifford, Richard Kerby, Sr. and Jr., Matthew Allen, Thomas Ewer and still others, experienced the full rigors of the law in these terrible years. John Jenkins, 2d, of Sandwich, for refusing to take the oath or fidelity, and attending Quaker meetings, was fined £19, 10s. Barlow seized 1 cow, 2 steers, money due him, and the only kettle in the house. When he seized this vessel, Mrs. Jenkins threw down a piece of cloth, twice the value of the kettle, and begged him to take that, as she would have nothing in which to cook for her family. Barlow refused. In levying for fines, his object was as much to annoy and injure as to secure booty, and he took such articles as would inflict the most distress upon the family. Cooking utensils of all kinds were scarce and had to be imported from England.

Barlow did not carry himself with this high hand without meeting with considerable opposition from many of the leading citizens, among whom there were some not of Quaker proclivities. Mr. Edmund Freeman, Thomas Burgess and others, were fined for refusing to act when called upon by him as aids in his seizures, some of them accompanying their refusal with uncomplimentary remarks. Not only the Quakers, but many others used a plainness of speech towards Barlow and his employers

that gave great offence to the subjects of their remarks.

In October, 1659, the court ordered Barlow to repair to the houses of William Newland and Ralph Allen of Sandwich, and Nicholas Davis of Barnstable, to search for Quaker books and writings, but as no return is made thereon, the presumption is that none such were found. Nicholas Davis had suffered much for conscience sake. He was in a court at Plymouth, in June, 1656, when Sandwich men were fined for refusing to take the oath of fidelity. Though not then a Quaker, he was indignant, and attempted to speak, saying, "He was a witness for the Lord against their oppression." He was about to say wherein, when he was ordered to desist, was arrested and put into prison, but was soon released. The same month he went to Boston on a business mission, but was imprisoned to await the session of the court of Assistants. His companions were William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, Quaker prisoners who were afterwards hung on Boston Common. Here Davis was kept in confinement until September, 1659, and was liberated on the threat that if he was found in the colony two days after he should suffer death. His only offence consisted in bearing his testimony honestly against persecution for opinion's sake.

Complaints were made during the year 1660, against parties in Sandwich for attending Quaker meetings, and for harboring Quakers and refusing to take the oath of fidelity, and fines and distraints followed. Wenlock Christison, for refusing to depart out of the colony, was sent to prison, was ordered to "lay neck and heels," and to be whipped, which sentence was executed upon him; and his entertainer, William Newland of Sandwich, was fined £5.

It would be strange if such outrages against the freedom of conscience and the liberty of belief should go unrebuked

in a community founded by the adherents of John Robinson and William Brewster. Enough of the old leaven was left in the body politic to make itself felt and respected, and which could not be suppressed by fines and scourgings. James Cudworth, one of the most noble men of his day, James Hatherly, Isaac Robinson, son of the Leyden pastor, who inherited his father's tolerant spirit, and many others in the colony, uttered their protests against the persecuting mania which beset the government and the churches. For the boldness and plainness of speech in which he indulged, Mr. Cudworth was disfranchised and removed from all military and civil employment under the government. Isaac Robinson of Barnstable was permitted to attend Quaker meetings, to try to admonish them, and after full examination and intercourse with them, he recommended that coercive measures be discontinued, and that every man be unmolested in the exercise of his honest belief; he was treated in the same manner as Cudworth, and for thirteen years was deprived of all his rights as a freeman.

The Quakers themselves did not tamely submit to this accumulated catalogue of outrage and wrong without a protest, and an effort to obtain from the home government redress for their injuries. Samuel Shattuck, who had been banished from Massachusetts on pain of death, returned from London in November, 1661, with the King's missive, ordering them to "forbear to proceed any further" against the Quakers, and to send such as were imprisoned to England for trial. It must have been mortifying in the extreme to Gov. Endicott to receive such a message at the hands of this detested Quaker, but he expressed his intention of complying with its requirements. He kept his promise only until it became safe to resume his old system of persecution, by new and scarcely less barbarous methods.

In Plymouth colony, the King's missive was embraced as the occasion for a change of policy in this respect, though it may be doubted, if the home government had not interposed, whether the people would much longer have endured the excesses of Barlow or the oppressions of the magistrates. It had begun to be regarded that such transactions as have been narrated were in contravention of truth and justice and opposed to the teachings of the earlier Pilgrims, and the most enlightened minds of the colony felt, as their children now feel, that they placed an indelible blot on the record of the people and government. But for the mass of the people of Cape Cod, these transactions have left to all time an imperishable record of heroic resistance to the attempt to fetter the consciences and restrain the opinions of their fellow men.

Barlow's discreditable career about the same time came to a close. He had already become offensive to those who had employed him in their infamous business. He had accused some of the best citizens of offences which the evidence failed to substantiate, and had himself been convicted of pilfering and drunkenness. He had grown rich on "the spoils of the innocent," but soon lost it all and became very poor and needy. In his old age he often craved the charity of Priscilla Allen, and never was refused; yet he was to the last ungrateful, and lived despised and died unregretted.

From the date of the arrival of the King's missive to the death of Gov. Prence, in 1673, though the laws of Plymouth colony against the Quakers were not repealed, they remained obsolete, so far as any active repressive measures were concerned. Josias Winslow, who was then elected Governor, at once entered upon a policy of reconciliation. His associates in the government, some of whom — as in the case of Mr. Hinckley and John Alden — had co-operated

with Gov. Prence in his severe measures, are also to be credited with the effort to establish a more humane and tolerant system of dealing with differences of opinion and belief. Capt. Cudworth and Isaac Robinson, by express enactments of the court, were restored to their rights as freemen, and the former was, by appointment and election, designated for the highest offices in the gift of the colony, dying while in England in her service. The Quakers still resisted the payment of taxes for the support of the ministry, and in most of the towns in the colony, these dues were collected by distraints upon their property; or where no effects could be found, by fines or imprisonment. Occasional outbreaks and disturbances are recorded; in some instances the old animosities engendered by former troubles overcoming the self-restraint of the Quakers and leading them to become the aggressors. Edward Perry, of Sandwich, was, in 1662, before the court for a "railing letter," which he had addressed to the Governor, but there is no record that any further action was taken thereon. Two years later, Robert Harper, of the same town, was publicly whipped "for disturbing the public worship at Sandwich and Barnstable," and Richard Willis was set in the stocks "for ribaldry." Some of the Cape towns — Yarmouth among the others — at a subsequent date, while including the names of these people on the tax list, added a sufficient sum to the rates of those whose taxes were collectable, to make up the default on the part of the Quakers to pay the "priest's tax," and thus these people were practically exempted from contributing for the support of a ministry obnoxious to their consciences.*

It is difficult to assign an adequate motive, founded simply upon the question of their opinions or morals, for the

*Yarmouth Records.

rancorous hatred of the Puritans towards the Quakers. For, although Secretary Morton has styled them "a pernicious sect" that "sowed their corrupt and damnable doctrines in almost every town," and others have written of them in a similar strain, their belief, as defined by themselves, does not bear out this construction. In the "Vindication," which was published as an authentic exposition of their opinions, they declare: "We believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be of divine origin, and give full credit to the historical facts, as well as the doctrines therein delivered, and never had any doubt of the truth of the actual birth, life and sufferings, resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ, as related by the evangelists; without any mental or other reserve, or the least diminution by allegorical explanation." Their personal habits were simple, abstemious, and self-denying; in their dealings they were scrupulous and exact. No issue could be raised, founded simply on their life or their professions. But they believed and practised these things, not, they said, because they had been taught them by those who were set up as spiritual teachers, but because they had been revealed to them by the Most High. As expounded by George Fox, the Quaker held that the Divine law is written in the hearts of men, and that to read it aright we must listen to the voice of God in our own souls. This voice he called the "Inward Light." "The principle of the inward light," says one of their modern authorities, "is the theological basis of Quakerism, and, in fact, it is the only theological doctrine involved in the Quaker religion."*

With this conception of spiritual truth in their minds, it is not difficult to appreciate the Quaker protest against an ordained ministry, composed of hired officials. The spirit

*Hallowell's Pioneer Quakers.

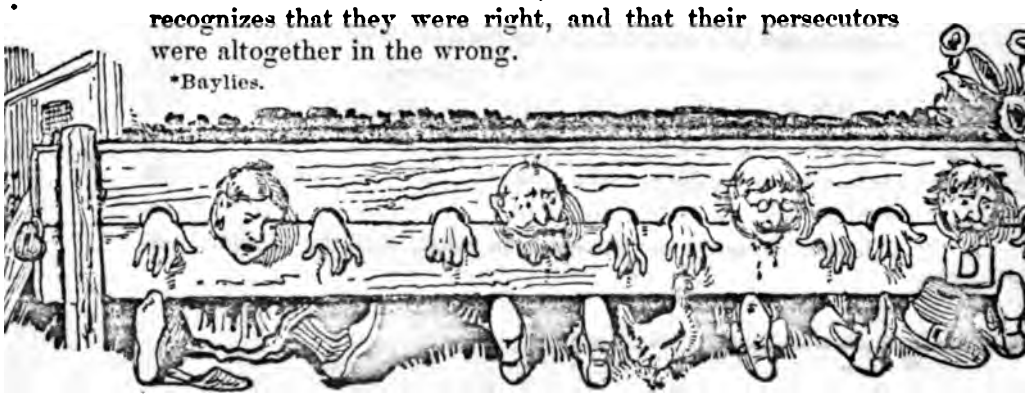
of God revealed to men, and not intellectual training, they held, qualified men to become religious teachers. In a community which regarded the ministerial office almost as sacred, and church organizations as essential to the spiritual well-being of mankind, the doctrines of Quakerism must therefore have been regarded as pernicious and demoralizing, and the ministers as a class, especially, felt that the dissemination of its tenets meant a life and death struggle for their position in civil society. But it is to the credit of the Cape ministers that, unlike those of Massachusetts Bay, they did not seek to persecute or coerce the Quakers. On the contrary, some of them—especially Mr. Walley—are distinctly on record as against the prevailing policy of the colony; and the proceedings of the Plymouth magistrates fell far short in ferocity of those of Massachusetts Bay.

The defence which is most commonly made against the charge of cruelty and intolerance on the part of the churches and government was, (1) that the Quakers, by their abusive and indecent conduct, compelled society to deal with them with great severity; and, (2) that the colonies had a right to exclude those of differing religious creeds whom they deemed unworthy or undesirable residents. So far as this community, at least, is concerned, the Quakers were an orderly and unoffending class. They were perhaps socially unattractive, and unconciliatory so far as the usages of society were concerned; employing great plainness of speech and lack of deference to men of station and authority, but were in hardly any other way aggressive. The exceptions in this respect, perhaps, were in the cases where they invaded the meetings of the congregations assembled for religious exercises, and insisted upon "bearing their testimony" to the scandal of the assembled worshippers. Their addressing the governor in court, with the exclamation,

"Thomas, thou lyest," "thou art a malicious man," was sufficient excuse for committing them for contempt, if the court itself had not indulged in language of vituperation and denunciation not strictly judicial in its tone.

As to the pretension that a right had been acquired by the authority of any charter or patent, to exclude disagreeable or obnoxious persons coming into the colony, that doctrine will not be seriously contended for at this day, however it may have impressed our fathers. No such power was conferred upon them by virtue of any instrument under which they acted, and the Quakers had as good a right, both legally and morally, to the exercise of their opinions, as any other sectaries had to theirs. The plea has by some writers been set up that "the Quakers who first appeared in the colony were not inhabitants of the country; they came from abroad," etc.* This is a flimsy pretext by people who themselves had but recently come to these shores. But if it were a valid plea it was not true in the case of the Quakers of the Cape. The greater part of those proceeded against in these towns were not recent comers, but old residents here, who had acquired property and rights as citizens, and their change of views and opinions was the result of reflection and meditation, and in accordance with their conscientious sense of duty. They naturally felt outraged at being denied the right of speaking their minds on matters of the highest concern to them, or of being deprived of exercising hospitality and christian charity, at the dictation of men fallible like themselves; and in this the world now recognizes that they were right, and that their persecutors were altogether in the wrong.

*Baylies.



CHAPTER VIII.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.

Philip Idealized in literature—Capt. John Gorham's march to Mount Hope—Battle of Narraganset Swamp—Death of Capt. Gorham—Second year's campaign—Cape losses in Capt. Pierce's Ambuscade—Death of Philip and close of the War—Attitude of Cape Indians—War Policy of the Government discussed—Pecuniary Burdens—Irish subscription.

HE sanguinary period in colonial history known as King Philip's War, although not waged within the limits of Cape Cod, was brought near to her people by their participation in the various campaigns; by losses of her sons in battle; by diseases contracted during its progress; and by charges incident to its prosecution. It is known in history as "Philip's War," because Philip was so intimately connected with its inception, and so far as the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies were concerned, it closed with his life. As to Philip himself, he seems to have been destitute of the lofty and patriotic traits, or the comprehensive foresight, which have been attributed to him by sentimental writers of both fictitious and historical compositions. Washington Irving invested him with many romantic traits, of which he was destitute, and Dr. Palfrey, in his early Barnstable Centennial discourse, spoke of him in a style which his later historical studies led him to disavow. A jealous and morose

savage, he so poisoned and embittered the minds of the Indians, with whom he came in contact, that they rushed unprepared into a conflict, which he had neither the capacity nor resources to direct to a successful issue against the English colonists.

Philip, after the death of his father, Massasoit, and his brother, Alexander, while professing friendship for the English, was really, through jealousy, misapprehension or natural violence of disposition, nourishing resentment and acquiring a spirit of discontent. The murder, near Middleboro, by some of his men, probably at his suggestion and with his assent, of the educated Indian, Sausaman, who had formerly been in his employ, was followed by the trial and execution of the murderers by the colonial authorities. This added fuel to the fire of resentment in the bosom of the unreflecting savage. The attack of the Indians upon Swansey, June 20, 1675, followed by other hostile movements, resulted in a state of general hostilities. Orders were sent to the captains of all the companies in the colony to march without delay, and June 24, Capt. John Gorham and twenty-nine men from Yarmouth, whose names appear on the record, "took their first march" to Mount Hope. Capt. Gorham had been of Barnstable only the year previous, and it seems probable that the men from that town were also under his command, although their names do not appear on the town's books. The other towns also furnished their quotas. They were mounted men, and proceeded with a good degree of celerity. The Plymouth forces were in command of Major Cudworth, and were in Swansey by June 24. The theatre of war soon after changed to Massachusetts, and Capt. Gorham and his command proceeded onwards to the Connecticut valley. The Cape soldiers, though doing their best to find and engage the enemy, had an opportunity

to do but little fighting, but they were much worn by fourteen weeks' incessant marching and the hardships incident to the campaign.

Oct. 4, the general court at Plymouth, after choosing Major James Cudworth commander-in-chief of the colonial forces in the field, chose Capt. John Gorham as captain of the other company, with Jonathan Sparrow of Eastham his lieutenant. Mr. Thomas Huckens of Barnstable was chosen commissary-general of the forces, and Capt. Matthew Fuller of Barnstable surgeon-general. The number of soldiers called for in the colony was 182, of which Sandwich was required to furnish 16, Yarmouth 15, Barnstable 16, Eastham 8. Of these the four towns named were credited with 3, 3, 2, 1, respectively, for their men then in garrison at Mount Hope. A town council of three for each town was established, whose duty it should be to send forth scouts, order watch and ward in the towns to take care of the towns' ammunition, and to call the towns together for making rates. For the Cape they were as follows: Sandwich, Mr. Richard Bourne, Mr. Edmund Freeman, Jr., Thomas Tobey, Sr.; Barnstable, Mr. Thomas Hinckley, Mr. Thomas Huckens, Mr. Barnabas Lothrop; Yarmouth, Mr. Edmund Hawes, John Miller, Jeremiah Howes; Eastham, Mr. John Freeman, Jonathan Sparrow, Mark Snow.

The powerful Narragansett tribe, that had, some time previous to the breaking out of hostilities, engaged by treaty in a compact of friendship and amity with the English, was found to be treacherously aiding and abetting Philip. This was the most powerful tribe in New England, and its subjugation was considered essential to the security of the colonists. The Commissioners of the United Colonies determined to raise a force of one thousand more men for

this special service. Governor Winslow of the Plymouth colony was selected for commander-in-chief. For this service another levy was made of 11 men from Sandwich, 10 from Yarmouth, 13 from Barnstable and 9 from Eastham. It was ordered that if any one pressed into service should refuse to go, he should forfeit £10, or suffer imprisonment for six months.

The place where the Narragansetts were encamped for the winter was in the present town of North Kingstown, Rhode Island. It was a position of great natural strength and inaccessibility. It was a solid lot of upland of about six acres, wholly surrounded by dense swamp. On the inner side the Indians had driven rows of palisades, making a barrier of nearly a rod in thickness; and the only entrance to the enclosure was over a rude bridge, consisting of a felled tree four or five feet from the ground, the bridge being protected by a block-house. According to information afterwards received from a captive, the Indian warriors here collected were as many as 3500. They were on their guard for invaders. The English, after a march of eighteen miles, through a deep snow, on the forenoon of Dec. 19, arrived at the fort about 1 o'clock, and immediately advanced to the attack. The battle was desperate and bloody. Four English captains were killed, other officers were killed or received mortal wounds, and seventy men were killed and one hundred and fifty wounded. At length victory declared for the assailants, who finished their work by setting fire to the wigwams within the fort. The number of the enemy that perished was estimated to be in the neighborhood of one thousand fighting men. The number of women and non-combatants that perished from hunger and cold none can tell. The military strength of the tribe was irreparably broken. The English, being without shelter, were obliged

to immediately retrace their way by a night-march to Wickford, where, with their wounded, after hours of suffering and exertion through the gathering snow, they arrived early the next morning. Some of the wounded died before reaching their camp, and others suffered from severe sickness contracted during that fearful day. Capt. John Gorham, who led the company comprising the Cape Cod contingent, contracted a fever, from which he died at Swansey, the ensuing February. Sergeant Nathaniel Hall of the Yarmouth company, and John Barker of Barnstable, a private, were wounded, but no other Cape man was reported as injured. The Connecticut and Massachusetts companies, that first entered the fort, sustained the chief loss. Mr. Thomas Hinckley, of Barnstable, who was afterwards governor of Plymouth colony, was commissary-general of this expedition, and a daughter was born to him Dec. 15, four days before this battle. The child was named Reliance, because the mother relied that God would protect the father in the perils which surrounded him.

The council of war, which, alternately with the general court and the magistrates, performed legislative and executive functions in relation to war matters, ordered that the sum of £1000 be assessed, for the payment of the necessities of the soldiers, the proportions of the several towns being: Sandwich, £92, 13s., 6d.; Barnstable, £99, 3s., 6d.; Yarmouth, £74, 15s., 6d.; Eastham, £66, 16s., 6d.

Another levy of three hundred English and one hundred Indians was ordered to be ready for a march by the 11th of April, 1676, the proportions this time being 28, 26, 30 and 18, for the towns of Sandwich, Yarmouth, Barnstable and Eastham, respectively. Before that day arrived changes in the aspect of affairs had occurred, and the troops were not in all cases promptly furnished. Governor Winslow com-

plained that Scituate and Sandwich "proved very deficient," by which his plans were frustrated. Both these towns, it subsequently appeared, had good reason for their apparent remissness. Sandwich was a frontier town for the whole Cape, and was obliged to act as a barrier to the incursions of the Indians from abroad, who were extremely anxious to establish communications with the Cape Indians, by which they might be seduced from their allegiance to the English. This required a good many men to keep guard. The town, owing to the Quaker element, had a larger number of non-combatants than any other in the colony. The isolation of the Cape Indians from those of the Plymouth colony was a most valuable service, in more than one way. At a time when an interior line of communication was unsafe, Capt. Benj. Church, who lived in the vicinity of Mount Hope, and wished to communicate with the Plymouth authorities, took passage in a Barnstable vessel for Woods Holl, and proceeding thence through Succannesset and Sandwich and by the bay, arrived at Plymouth while the General Court was in session, to their great joy and surprise. He returned by the same route, being paddled in their canoe, by two Succannesset Indians by way of the Elizabeth Islands, to his home in Rhode Island. Subsequently, the squaw sachem, Awashonks, gave in her adhesion to the English, and was ordered with all her retinue of men, women and children, to repair to Sandwich, where she could be beyond the reach of unfriendly influences. Capt. Church, who after her capture, repaired to Sandwich to fulfill his engagement to meet her there in a week, was unable to find her, and proceeded to Mattapoisett, where she and her followers had encamped near the seashore.*

*Mr. Freeman, Hist. Cape Cod, gives the impression that Awashonks was found on the Cape, which Church's narrative shows not to have been the case.

Attacks, with varying results, were sustained during this year by towns in the westerly part of Massachusetts, when the tide of war again turned towards Plymouth colony. Capt. Michael Pierce of Scituate, with about seventy men, twenty of whom were friendly Indians from Cape Cod, went in pursuit of the enemy on the western border of the colony. After an engagement without important results, at Seekonk on the 25th of March, 1676, he the next day pressed forward in pursuit of the enemy. At a short distance from the town four or five Indians were discovered limping, as if wounded. Unsuspicious of treachery, the company eagerly followed, and found themselves in ambush, and in the presence of overwhelming numbers. To escape was impossible; retreat was desperate. A furious attack ensued; a fresh band of assailants appeared, and the little company, like the Spartans at Thermopylæ, fought against overwhelming odds for above two hours, the men in double ring, until hardly any were spared to tell the story of their valor. The enemy paid dearly for their victory, nearly a hundred of their warriors forfeiting their lives. Of those who fell, five of them were from Sandwich: Benj. Nye, Daniel Bessey, Caleb Blake, Job Gibbs, Stephen Wing; six from Barnstable, Lieut. Fuller, John Lewis, Eleazer Cobb, ——— Linnell, Samuel Childs, Samuel Bowman; Yarmouth five, John Matthews,* John Gage, Wm. Gage, Henry Gage, Henry Gold; Eastham five, Joseph Nessefield, John Walker, John M———, John Fitz, Jr., John Miller. An Indian named Amos, who was one of the Barnstable quota, and who fought bravely to the end of the battle, escaped by a stratagem illustrative of the

*Letter of Rev. Noah Newman of Rehoboth, partially illegible. The report of the death of John Matthews was probably incorrect. The only person in Yarmouth of that name at that time over fourteen years old, lived to old age.

tact and cunning of his race; seeing that the hostile Indians had blackened their faces that they might know each other from the friendly Indians with Capt. Pierce, he wet some powder and disguised his own face, and thus eluded the enemy.

In June, both men and money for the renewed prosecution of the war were called for: From Sandwich £16 and 13 men; Barnstable, the same; Yarmouth, £14 and 13 men; Eastham, £10, 5s. and 10 men. But the war was now visibly drawing to a close. The Indians were at the end of their resources; having no leisure to plant, their bread was getting scarce, and the vigilance of the English gave them no opportunity to recruit their diminished stores. Philip's confederates deserted him and left the field, and betaking himself with a few followers to Mount Hope, he was surrounded and shot down by an Indian bullet in an effort to escape from his environment. The barbarous exposure of his mutilated carcass to public observation, and the execution of Indian chiefs who had surrendered with an implied pledge that their lives were to be spared, with the selling of Philip's son into slavery, indicate the bitterness of resentment which our fathers felt towards those who were the authors of so many woes that had befallen their countrymen, but not a degree of barbarity beyond that of the times in which they lived, that has been so often and so persistently imputed to them. Only seventeen years before this, the bodies of Oliver Cromwell, and his generals, Ireton and Bradshaw, were disinterred, their remains hanged at Tyburn, and their heads fastened to poles, exhibited on the top of Westminster Hall, fronting palace yard. The practice of displaying heads of traitors in this manner was practiced in England for a century after the death of Philip.

Though removed from the direct contact with the war,

yet in consequence of the absence of so many of their vigorous young men, whose lives were in constant peril, the Cape suffered the pangs of continual anxiety, and the privation and want which the absence of their protectors and supporters naturally entailed upon their families. It was a sad and fearful period. Every breeze from the west bore upon its wings the wail of suffering, and the glare of burning villages, seen by night, lighted up the horizen. How soon it might prove their turn to suffer in a like manner, they could not tell. What if the natives by whom they were surrounded, in this hour of distress and danger, should prove treacherous, and seeing their feebleness should take advantage of the absence of so many of their fighting men, and fall upon them in their defenceless condition? However pacific and friendly their demeanor might be, the colonists could not entirely confide in their constancy, when others had been so bitterly deceived and betrayed. These thoughts must have occurred to them as they pondered upon the tidings which reached them from abroad, and filled their minds with terror and apprehension. The vigilance of the authorities was therefore never relaxed. Watch and ward were maintained. Sandwich, especially, it has been shown, kept guard of the region bordering upon the Plymouth towns, to prevent intercourse between the Cape Indians and those from abroad, who were eagerly seeking communication and co-operation with them. While Mr. Thomas Hinckley was away on public service a guard was placed upon his dwelling to protect his family, which was believed to be in peril. But their allies, fortunately proved faithful and true. Partly owing to their naturally mild and pacific disposition, but largely in consequence of fair dealing by the settlers and the good seed sown by John Eliot, Richard Bourne, Thomas Tupper, Rev. Mr. Treat, Rev. Thomas

Thornton and other true and devoted men, the native inhabitants, not only refused to join with Philip and his allies, notwithstanding their supplications, but many of them fought side by side with the English. This was what saved the cause of the colonists from utter overthrow, and preserved them from destruction. The best authorities agree that not less than 500 or 600 Indians, able to bear arms, then lived on the Cape. It is not too much to say, that had these proved unfriendly and hostile, the struggle, if not doubtful, would have been indefinitely prolonged. As it was, the Cape was the only portion of the colony which remained in peace and security during this terrible struggle, and fugitives from other towns which had been devastated by the enemy, were received here in large numbers and welcomed with christian hospitality. Not only were individual sufferers received and entertained, but whole communities were invited to share their lot with the Cape people until the perilous times were over. The people of Sandwich, in town meeting assembled, offered the fugitives the use of planting lands not otherwise occupied, to those who had been driven from their homes. When Rehoboth, Taunton and Bridgewater were destroyed, the Cape towns, acting through a meeting of leading citizens held in Barnstable, sent a cordial invitation to their people to come with such goods as remained with them, for preservation and safety. Answers were returned filled with expressions of the deepest gratitude, but for prudential reasons they determined not to leave their homes, but to make another effort to rebuild and protect them.

The policy of the war, both in its inception and in the manner in which it was prosecuted, was questioned by many at the time and since its occurrence. There were those who thought it might have been averted by a more conciliatory

policy, and an effort to impress the Indians with a display of friendly desires and intentions. Whether Philip and his men could have been won by such a policy may well be doubted, but the effort was worthy of trial. The peace party allege that the council of war entered into the crusade with a degree of eagerness unbecoming and impolitic. The same persons also complain of the severity of treatment pursued towards prisoners and non-combatants. A letter from Gov. Winslow to Edmund Freeman and Thomas Hinckley, and forwarded by Mr. Church, remarks: "Mr. Church tells me of an Indian woman brought in," "who seems to be sent with lies and flams to affright and corrupt your Indians; if so, I wish you would order him to put her to death, but leave it to your discretion; but let her not have opportunity of returning to the enemy," etc. Mr. Walley, the minister at Barnstable, was one of those who criticised the policy of the government. In a letter, addressed to Rev. Mr. Cotton of Plymouth, he expressed the feeling which was rife in relation to sending away squaws who were suspected to be conveying hostile information, complaining of the "severity" of the measure, and saying that the "country is troubled and grieved at this action, accounting it very unreasonable and that there is much discontent about it." Mr. Walley, in a subsequent letter advocates the employment in the war, of Indians, to which there was much objection, especially in official quarters, and not without good reasons therefor, drawn from the experience of other portions of the country. The peace policy of Roger Williams and his associates in Rhode Island, did not shield that colony from the hostile acts of the Indians. Rhode Island sent no troops to the war, but of its two towns on the mainland, Warwick was destroyed, and a large portion of Providence, notwith-

standing that the insular settlements were carefully guarded.

The casualties of the war, which raged for more than a year, so far as Massachusetts and Plymouth were concerned, are thus summed up by Dr. Palfrey: In these two colonies there "were eighty or ninety towns. Of these, ten or twelve were totally destroyed, and forty more or less damaged by fire, making together nearly two-thirds of the whole number. Five or six hundred men of military age, one in ten or twelve of the whole, were stealthily murdered or fell in battle, or becoming prisoners were lost sight of forever, an unknown number of them being put to death with horrible tortures." A considerable number of non-combatants, old men, women and children, were ruthlessly put to death.

The pecuniary results of the war were no less heavy to the colonies; and at its close, it is estimated that over £100,000 had been expended in the struggle, and that the Plymouth colony had contracted a debt, which exceeded the value of the entire personal estates of its people. They did not give up in despair, but by a vigorous system of taxation paid up the last dollar, principal and interest. Some portion of the debt was cancelled by grants of lands, which the exterminated savages had occupied, but this formed no considerable part of the expenditure.

The assessment of the last year of the war, in July, 1676, in addition to other taxes already levied, the sum of £3692, 16s., 2d., was ordered to be raised, of which the proportions of the Cape towns were as follows:

Sandwich,	£327 : 15 : 06
Barnstable,	351 : 03 : 09
Yarmouth,	266 : 01 : 00
Eastham,	236 : 05 : 00

It is a circumstance most suggestive of the relation

subsisting between the colonies and the mother country, that during this fearful life-and-death struggle for existence, no word of sympathy and cheer, and no proffer of aid in their distress came from the authorities in England, nor, as far as appears, from any organization there. That such aid should be spontaneously tendered, would have seemed most natural. That such assistance was not asked for or expected, indicates the condition of isolation and self-dependence which the colonists seemed to have felt that they were assuming, when they forsook their English homes, to establish new ones in America. They appear neither to have expected, nor to have desired, any assistance from England, greatly as they needed it, and thus, while showing their ability to take care of themselves, to be thereby earning a title to immunity from interference and control from the government, whose hand they had every reason to apprehend would have been laid heavily upon them, if put forth in any way.

But from another quarter relief was gratefully received. Contributions to the amount of nearly a thousand pounds, "for such as were impoverished, distressed and in necessity by the late war," were sent "by divers Christians in Ireland." The portion, which in the distribution accrued to the Plymouth colony, amounted to £124, 10s., and was distributed according to the pecuniary disabilities sustained by the people of the several towns. To arrive at a knowledge of the proportions of these losses, together with disbursements on account of the war made prior to July, 1676, the following table is presented:

Sandwich	had paid	£327 : 15 : 6	and rec'd of	Irish donations,	£0 : 0 : 0
Yarmouth	"	256 : 1 : 0	"	"	"	10 : 0
Barnstable	"	351 : 3 : 9	"	"	"	3 : 0 : 0
Eastham	"	236 : 5 : 0	"	"	"	10 : 0
Entire Colony	"	3692 : 16 : 2	"	"	"	124 : 10 : 0

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS, 1674–1676.

1674. The court ordered that "Manamoyick, Paomet and Satucket be in the town of Eastham," and that "all other places of like capacity shall belong to particular townships, as the court shall see meet." —The house of the town clerk and all the town records of Yarmouth, were destroyed by fire. — Thomas Huckins of Barnstable laid down three acres of land at the meeting-house, for the town's use as a burying-ground. This is the cemetery adjoining the old Methodist meeting-house.

1675. Liberty was granted to any families in Sandwich that may be necessitated to repair to the town garrison for safety. It was also ordered that those citizens entitled to vote, who do not attend town meetings, be fined 2s., 6d. for each and every delinquency. The Indians of the town were granted liberty to set up a house for meeting on the Lord's days for the present summer, provided they will not damage the meadows by letting their horses into the same.—Mr. Thomas Tupper, Sandwich, d., aged 98 years. His wife d. soon after, aged 90 years.

1676. The court allowed to John Paysley of Yarmouth, a cripple in the late wars, £3; Thomas Tobey of Sandwich, for his services, a grant of land.—Rev. John Mayo died in Yarmouth; he removed there from Boston in 1673. Eastham appropriated £155, 8d. to build a meeting-house, "near the burial place."

CHAPTER IX.

FROM PHILIP'S WAR TO UNION WITH MASSACHUSETTS.

Neglect of Religious and Educational Causes—Death of Governor Winslow and election of Thomas Hinckley as his successor—Creation of the County of Barnstable—Succannessett, afterwards Falmouth, incorporated—Audros's administration—King William's War—The Union with Massachusetts—Poverty of Plymouth Colony.

HE exigencies of the war having presumably caused some degree of neglect of the ordinances of religion and the cause of education, a law was in 1677 enacted by the court, requiring suitable provision to be made in each town for the support of public worship. This statute was a revival of the spirit and intent of already existing enactments, modified to suit the exigencies of the times, and was the first legal provision for the coercive collection of taxes for ministerial support. Heretofore reliance had been made upon the voluntary offerings of the people, prompted by their attachment and consideration for the ministerial office. But this sentiment had visibly weakened in public estimation, and men had begun to attach greater importance to individual experience, and to undervalue, in the estimation of the authorities, the efficacy of church work and organization. This law was supplemented, the following year, by another enactment, requiring that in each town a house of worship should be

erected and maintained, suited to the necessities of the people, and in case of any neglect on their part to carry out this provision, the government was to have it done at the expense of the delinquent town. Educational qualifications seem also to have been neglected or discredited, and the laws for the permanent establishment and support of grammar schools were also re-enacted, provision being made for the application of the funds arising from the Cape fisheries for that purpose. These fisheries were farmed out for a term of seven years, at £30 per annum.

"Select Courts," which by the enactment of 1679, "were allowed in each town or jurisdiction," seem to have been nothing more than an extension of the powers of the existing boards of selectmen.

A committee to consider and adjust the claims growing out of the war, was this year raised, and among those Cape citizens who were members were, Wm. Swift, Mr. John Miller, Thomas Huckens, Mr. Daniel Smith, Capt. Sparrow.

Dec. 18, 1680, died Josias Winslow, who for seven years had held the office of governor of Plymouth colony. He was the only governor of the colony who was born in New England, his father, Edward Winslow, being one of the early governors of the colony. Like his father, he was a man of ability and accomplishments, a brave soldier during Philip's war. Thomas Hinckley of Barnstable, who was deputy governor, succeeded him, and at the election in March, 1681, was chosen governor, with James Cudworth as deputy. The election of Mr. Hinckley did not result, however, in a reversal of the policy of his predecessor in relation to religious toleration, that principle having come to be more generally recognized as the result of the controversies with the Friends and other sects, who differed from

the standing order of the colony. The laws against the Quakers were so far relaxed, that upon their petition those of Sandwich were granted liberty to act in the disposal of lands, etc., "so long as they carry themselves civilly and do not abuse their liberty." Local military discipline was not permitted to relax in the outlying villages of the Cape. The court ordered that "Mannamoiett do choose a fit man to exercise its men in arms," and that "the men of Succanessett repair three times a year to Barnstable to train."

The "government being much enlarged," Plymouth Colony, in 1685, was divided into three counties, called, respectively, Plymouth, Bristol and Barnstable. The County of Barnstable consisted of the towns of Barnstable, Eastham, Sandwich and Yarmouth, and the plantations of Monnámoit, Succonesset, and Sippecan. The latter comprised the region subsequently incorporated under the name of Rochester, embracing the present town of that name, and Wareham, Marion and Mattapoisett. Each of the towns was authorized to send three, and each plantation one, grand jurymen, to the court to be held at the shire town, Barnstable. They were ordered to appear on the third Tuesday of June, 1686, to take their oaths, and to receive their charge. A session of the Court of Assistants for trials was held on the first Tuesday of July in the same year.

There was the usual rivalry and competition for the location of the county buildings, the Gorhams desiring to erect them near the Yarmouth line, where their lands were located, they building houses in that region for the prospective accommodation of those resorting to the courts, but the influence of Gov. Hinckley and his assistants, Barnabas Lothrop and John Walley, prevailed, and the

court house was built near the present centre of the town.* Sippecan, which subsequently took the name Rochester, remained a part of Barnstable county until 1708, when, upon the petition of its inhabitants, it was annexed to Plymouth county. The laws of the colony, which had been some time under revision, were printed this year, and confirmatory titles given, under the seal of the government, the several purchases being particularly described.

Before the county had been fully organized, in June, 1686, Succonesset† was incorporated as a town, the fifth in the county. The settlement and development of the region had been progressing for twenty-five years before its incorporation. In 1659, "liberty to view and purchase a tract at Saconesset" was granted to Thomas Hinckley, Henry Cobb, Samuel Hinckley, John Jenkins, Nathaniel Bacon, of Barnstable; and Thomas Hinckley, and Richard Bourne of Sandwich, were "empowered to arrange with the Indians for the same." It seems probable that nothing came of this arrangement; but March 5, 1660-1, "liberty to purchase lands at Saconesset and adjacent" was granted to John Howland, Anthony Annable, Isaac Robinson, Nathaniel Thomas, Samuel Fuller, Abraham Pierce and Peter Blossom; and to these were subsequently added Sam'l Hinckley, Matthew Fuller, John Cooper, Henry Cobb, John Dunham and John Jenkins of Barnstable, and Samuel Fuller, Wm. Nelson and Thomas Burman of Plymouth; and John Phinney, Thomas Burman,‡ of Barnstable, and John

*The site of the first court house was near the spot now occupied by the stable of the old Crocker hotel, owned by heirs of Mrs. Lydia S. Scudder. See Otis's Gen. Notes of Barnstable Families. The second court house was the building now occupied by the Baptist society as a house of worship, and was erected over a century ago.

†This is the more usual spelling of the word, but it was also variously written Sachonesit, Succannesset, Sugones, etc.

‡This may be the same person as the one preceding, said to be of Plymouth, or it may be a clerical error.

Dunham, Jr., are also named. The first proprietors' book commenced in 1661, but the names of some of the grantees do not occur on its pages. Jonathan Hatch and Isaac Robinson appear to have been the first bona fide settlers, having built their houses near the southerly borders of Fresh Pond. In 1664-5 Isaac Robinson was allowed to keep an ordinary there "in regard that it doth appear that there is a great recource to and fro by travellers to Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket," etc. In 1668, Wm. Gifford, Thomas Lewis and John Jenkins became "inhabitants of Succonessit." The Quakers were here in considerable numbers at the time of the incorporation. Isaac Robinson, early of this town, though not of this sect, believed in their sincerity, and was suffering civil disabilities and social outlawry in their behalf, and for his testimony in favor of religious toleration. For many years, for municipal purposes and for the observance of public worship the plantation was associated with Barnstable, during which time the inhabitants travelled fifteen miles to attend service on Sunday. Mr. Samuel Shiverick was the first minister, being here prior to 1700, but at what exact date he first came to the place cannot be ascertained. The name of FALMOUTH, instead of Succanesset, came into use about the year 1694,* although there is no formal act extant authorizing a designation. It may have been derived from Falmouth in England, a parliamentary borough in Cornwall, whence Bartholomew Gosnold sailed on the voyage to this vicinity, attempting a settlement on one of the Elizabeth Islands, near by the main land in this town.

The relations of the people of Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies to the home government had long been the cause

*The Province tax of Sept. 14, 1694, has this item: "Falmouth £22, 8s., 0d."

of anxiety and deep solicitude on their part. At the threshold of the administration of Gov. Hinckley a crisis was seen to be pending. Edmund Randolph, who had been embittered by a controversy with the Massachusetts colony, after several years of exertion had succeeded in procuring of the home government the process of *quo warranto*, the charter had been vacated, and the Presidency of Joseph Dudley, followed by the Governorship of Sir Edmund Andros, had resulted therefrom. The relations of Plymouth Colony to the royal authority had been of a pacific nature, and great hopes had been entertained of the granting of a royal charter to the colony. But as the arbitrary character of the Stuarts, especially of James II, had disclosed itself, and his dealings with Massachusetts were developed, the hopes and expectations of the colonists gave way to gloom and apprehension. The fears of the people were, unhappily, realized when, in 1686, Sir Edmund Andros arrived with a commission appointing him governor of all New England. Gov. Hinckley was of course supplanted, and though nominated as one of Andros's councillors, the colony was merged with the Massachusetts colony, and divested of its distinctive character.

The new order of things gave great offence, not only in Massachusetts, but throughout New England. Exorbitant taxes were levied, and under the pretence that all the land titles of the country were invalid, large fees were attempted to be extorted for new ones. Even when, in addition to the grants given them by the government, the Indian titles had been purchased, Andros was said to have declared that such deeds were "no better than the scratch of a bear's paw." Gov. Hinckley, in a petition to the King, in relation to Plymouth Colony, asserted that all the money left in the colony "would scarcely suffice to pay one-half the charges

for warrants, surveying and patents, if every one must be forced thereto." The whole tendency of the administration was in the direction of oppression. This state of things continued for two years and four months. In April, 1689, a rumor reached Boston of the landing of the Prince of Orange in England; the smothered fires of resentment blazed out, and without waiting to learn the result of the rising in the mother country, Andros was arrested, imprisoned and confined in the castle. Gov. Bradstreet was called again to power by acclamation; and Plymouth, following the example of Massachusetts, again called on Gov. Hinckley and his associates to assume the offices which they before held, until their places could be filled by a regular election. Hinckley and Bradford were subsequently elected governor and deputy governor, and the people were again in the enjoyment of their accustomed institutions of government.

During the administration of Andros, Courts of Common Pleas *eo nomine* had been established in this and other counties. Associate Courts were now re-established, and Jonathan Sparrow of Eastham and Stephen Skiff of Sandwich were appointed justices; and they were re-appointed in 1690 and 1691.

The war known as King William's war having commenced, and many injuries having been committed by the Indians in the Eastern country, the court met in August, 1689, to take the matter into consideration, and gave instructions to their commissioners in relation to the prosecution of the hostilities. Major Benj. Church was placed in command with the commission of major, by both Gov. Hinckley and Gov. Danforth of Massachusetts. Col. Wm. Bassett of Sandwich, and Nathaniel Hall, son of John, of Dennis, served as captains in this expedition. The expenses of the campaign for Plymouth Colony were £742; for Barnstable

£60, Sandwich £60, Yarmouth £41, Eastham £46, Monomoy £7. Eastham having neglected to make a rate, "occasioned by misrepresentation or insinuations of ill men, disaffected towards the government," a fine of £50 was imposed, "to be collected in case the neglect is persisted in." This war was waged with advantage on the side of the English, but the force sent was inadequate to the wants of the campaign.

In the ensuing year, Church was importuned by Gov. Hinckley to take command of the Plymouth forces on another expedition against the enemy, the Indians being aided and abetted by the French. He came to Barnstable, where he met the Governor and several members of the Council of War, who promised them their support. In June, two companies were raised, John Gorham being captain of one, and Jabez Snow of Eastham, lieutenant of the other. There was considerable delay in getting the troops away to the seat of hostilities. Governor Hinckley not being ready with the transports as had been promised, and not being on hand, had to be summoned by express from Barnstable. Vessels were finally fitted up, and the troops embarked. The Cape furnished for this expedition the following numbers of men: Sandwich, Yarmouth and Eastham, 10 each; Barnstable, 12; Sucanessett and Monomoy, 2 each. It was also ordered that there be raised 50 Indians: 22 in Barnstable county, 22 in Bristol, and 6 in Plymouth; Barnstable county was also to provide 15 of the 60, "arms and other necessaries" for the troops. The debt incurred by Plymouth Colony this year amounted to £1350, of which the following sums fell upon the Cape:

Barnstable,	£112,	10s.,	0d.	Eastham,	£93,	19s.,	6d.
Yarmouth,	104	2	9	Monnamoit,	18	18	9
Sandwich,	93	15	0	Sucanessett,	15	3	9

The campaign was not answerable in point of success to

the expectations of the government or people, and Major Church felt that he was treated with injustice and neglect by the authorities in Boston; which did not, however, prevent his taking service under the government the ensuing year.

Gov. Hinckley was re-elected in 1691, but the increasing difficulties of the times must have rendered his position one of continual anxiety and discomfort. The Indian and French wars were a constant drain on the young men of the colony and the resources of the people. The political future of the colony was a great cause of solicitude and alarm, as one report followed another, as to the designs of the government of William and Mary. The magistrates of Massachusetts Bay sent its agents to England to endeavor to procure a renewal of the charter, made void by Charles II., and from Plymouth Colony went Rev. Ichabod Wiswall of Duxbury, to assist in the work, and also to try to obtain one for Plymouth, and to protect the interests of the colony in any way in which he could be serviceable. There was at one time an effort to unite her government with New York, which was averted by the representations of these agents. But the effort to obtain for her a separate charter was unsuccessful, and the two provinces were by the royal authority united, under the style of "The Massachusetts Bay in New England," a union which has since been found a source of benefit and happiness to the people of both colonies. The concluding language of the charter was: "To have and to hold the said territories, tracts, counties, land, hereditiments, and all and other singular the premises, with their and every their appurtenances, to our said subjects, the inhabitants of the said Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and their successors, to their only proper use and behoof forevermore, to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, as of our manor of East

Greenwich, in the County of Kent, by fealty only in free and common soccage,"—a tenure the importance of which the students of the laws will properly appreciate.

There was reason to think that Gov. Hinckley was not dissatisfied with the change. His opinions and the temper of his mind were much more in sympathy with the governing classes of the Massachusetts Colony, than those of Plymouth, and the measure of his ambition as a leading Councillor of a large and powerful province, was perhaps better filled than in the first place in the feeble colony of Plymouth. He doubtless felt that the arrangement would be advantageous to both colonies, as it has since proved.

At the time of the union, Plymouth Colony consisted of twenty towns, six of which were in the County of Barnstable, (counting Monnamoit, which had been permitted to send a deputy, in 1691,) and the colony contained a population of about 13,000 of English descent. From various data it is safe to say that the white population of Barnstable County was about 4000. The colony was deeply in debt, contracted in the long and bloody wars with the Indians, owing some £27,000, while the entire taxable property of the inhabitants was rated at only £35,900.* This debt, however, was owed to their own citizens. So great was their poverty that they were unable to raise the sum of £500 to send to Mr. Wiswall to obtain a charter, and Gov.

*The ratable estates of the towns of the colony were:

Plymouth,	£2060	Rochester,	£367
Scituate,	4360	Monomoy,	505
Marshfield,	1804	Sucanessett,	405
Duxbury,	1500	Bristol,	1049
Bridgewater,	1430	Taunton,	2689
Middleboro,	582	Rehoboth,	2117
Barnstable,	3000	Dartmouth,	2200
Yarmouth,	2777	Swansey,	1500
Sandwich,	2500	Little Compton,	2000
Eastham,	2506	Freetown,	349

Hinckley proposed that it should be prayed for *sub forma pauperis.**

The last General Court met at Plymouth on the first Tuesday of July, 1691, and after transacting some trifling routine business, and appointing the last Wednesday in August for a solemn fast, adjourned to meet no more. Thus ended the political existence of the Plymouth Colony, after surviving a little less than seventy-one years from its organization.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS, 1677–1692.

1677. Joseph Burge of Sandwich, who "resisted and abused the watch" during Philip's War, for which he was several times fined, was this year amerced to the amount of £5 for selling liquor to the Indians. As a sequel he was fined 10 shillings for "swearing in court."—The aged widow Annable of Barnstable was fined £1 for selling beer without a license.

1678. George Barlow of Sandwich, the late marshal, was before the court and bound over, on the charge of being a "turbulent fellow."—Rev. Thomas Walley of Barnstable died.

1680. John Yanno, Indian, son and heir of Yanna, sachem of South Sea, in Barnstable, deceased, sold to George Lewis for £2, 16 shillings, a small tract "lying in the common field at Mattachiest"; also in consideration of £1, 8 shillings, paid in trucking cloth and otherwise by Thomas Hinckley, "granted and sold him lands in South Sea, in Barnstable, which Mr. H. subsequently conveyed to the town.

1681. A new meeting-house was erected in Barnstable; cost of the edifice £100, lot £1, 10 shillings.—Indian James indicted and tried for causing the death of Samuel Crocker, Barnstable, by a kick in the abdomen. He was acquitted of murderous intent.

1682. Mr. Edmund Freeman, one of the original grantees of Sandwich, died.

1683. Kenecompsit, an Indian, relinquished for £5, 19 shillings, his right to seven acres of land in common field, Barnstable, to John Lewis and James Edwards.—Sandwich offered a bounty of 15s. for killing old wolves, and 5s. for "pups."

*Baylies' Hist. Memoir.

1684. A road from Barnstable to Plymouth through Sandwich was laid out by a jury empanelled by the governor.

1685. An extension of the Sandwich road, through Barnstable, was laid out by a jury ordered by the court. The old foot bridges, which sufficed for the settlers, gave way to firmer structures, suited for teams.—Eastham "voted to pay 10s. for the head of any old wolf, and 5s. for wolves' whelps, to any Indian who shall bring them."

1686. Lt. John Howland of Barnstable licensed "to sell cider of his own making."

1687. A windmill for grinding grain, was erected in Barnstable, by Thomas Paine of Eastham. £32 and five acres of upland and five acres of marsh were appropriated for the purpose, by the town. "Eight or ten acres of upland at the river by John Goodspeed's and the use of the stream" were granted to John Andrews, "to build and keep a fulling-mill on said stream, to full and draw the town's cloth on reasonable terms."

1688. The pastoral relation of Rev. John Smith to the Sandwich church, terminated at his own request.

1691. Rev. Roland Cotton commenced his pastoral relation to Sandwich church.—Ichabod Paddock of Yarmouth engaged to go to Nantucket, "to instruct the people in the art of killing whales" by the employment of boats from the shore.

CHAPTER X.

THE CAPE IN THE OLD FRENCH WARS.

Cape men in the Provincial government—Harwich incorporated—Eel River Bridge—Cape Cod Canal first proposed—Ministerial changes—Division of Barnstable common lands—Whaleboat fleet in Queen Anne's war—Death of Gov. Hinckley—Truro and Chatham become towns of the province—Division of Yarmouth common lands—"Precinct of Cape Cod"—Wreck of Pirate ship Whidah and 102 men drowned—Channel through the Cape—Cape soldiers at the capture of Louisburg—Acadians at Monument River—Issue of Bills of Credit—Provincetown incorporated—Division of the County proposed—"The Great Awakening"—Emigration to Maine—Wellfleet incorporated—Peace welcomed.

BY the terms of the charter of the new Province of Massachusetts Bay, the portion which comprised Plymouth colony was entitled to four councillors. Those who were first selected were Thomas Hinckley, late governor; Wm. Bradford, late deputy governor; John Walley, and Barnabas Lothrop. Gov. Hinckley had been charged with being secretly favorable to the union with Massachusetts, and these appointments confirmed the suspicions of those who were unfriendly to him, and indeed gave some color to their belief. Of the four councillors, Mr. Hinckley and Mr. Lothrop were residents of Barnstable, and Mr. Walley was born and reared there, though at the time of his election he was a resident of Bristol. The first provincial legislature was represented from the Cape by its citizens of ability from the various towns, viz: John Gorham, John Otis, Barnstable; John Thacher, Jeremiah Howes, Yar-

mouth; Thomas Tupper, Shearjashub Bourne, Sandwich; Jonathan Snow, Jonathan Bangs, Eastham; Moses Rowley, Falmouth.

Sir William Phipps arrived in Boston, May 14, 1692, with his commission from William and Mary as governor-in-chief, bringing with him the new charter; and the first general court elected thereunder assembled in Boston, June 8, of that year. The new governor was a native of New England; his selection was largely due to the influence of Increase Mather, who was then in England; and while the clerical party in the province was shorn of much of its power, the appointment was quite acceptable to the people, although not reflecting much credit upon its incumbent, as an administrator, by reason of an unfortunate infirmity of temper, which led him into difficulties, resulting in his recall for explanations to England, where he died in 1695. He was succeeded by Lieut.-Governor Stoughton.

Sept. 14, 1694, HARWICH was admitted as a township. The name is derived from a market, seaport and parliamentary borough in Essex county, England. It was said that one of her citizens, Mr. Patrick Butler, walked the whole distance to Boston, to obtain the act of incorporation. The earlier occupation of its territory was chiefly in the northern portion of the town. Ecclesiastically speaking, the territory immediately below Yarmouth was considered for a long period prior to this time as belonging to Eastham.

The prosecution of the war with the French and the eastern Indians, in which the colonies were involved before their union, and which early engaged the attention of Gov. Phipps, was continued under the auspices of Lieut.-Gov. Stoughton. Capt. John Gorham of Barnstable, was in 1696, second in command, under Col. Benjamin Church, in the expedition to Winter Harbor, which was not, however,

attended by any important results. Great alarm prevailed in New England at the time, in view of a contemplated invasion by a formidable French fleet, and extensive preparation was made to repel it. Frequent disasters to Cape men are recorded in the writings of the times. Col. Thomas Dimmock of Barnstable, was killed in a battle at Canso, Sept. 9, 1697. He refused to conceal himself in a thicket, or shelter himself behind a tree as others under his command did, but stood out in the open field, a conspicuous mark for the enemy.* The peace of Ryswick, concluded in 1697, put an end for the present to King William's War.

The Court of Quarterly Sessions having issued a precept to the towns of the county of Barnstable, to assess their inhabitants towards defraying the expense of re-building the bridge over Eel River, near Plymouth, great dissatisfaction was expressed by the inhabitants, who regarded the demand as unjust and unlawful, the bridge being twelve miles beyond the county limits. The town of Eastham refused compliance—instructing the selectmen to disregard the precept, and promising to indemnify them for any damage that might accrue for their failure to comply with the order of the court. These remonstrances were without avail, and the Cape towns were again compelled to submit to the payment for this work.

The project which has intermittingly been agitated until the present time, for the union of the waters of Buzzards and Barnstable bays by means of a ship canal, was initiated as early as 1698. A committee was that year appointed by the general court "to view a place for a passage to be cut through the land in Sandwich, from Barnstable bay into Manomet bay, for vessels to pass through and from the

*Otis's Barnstable Families. This piece of history is a well authenticated family tradition, though no account is given of the transaction in any published history, as far as observed.

western parts of the country, it being thought by many persons to be very necessary for the preservation of men and estates, and that it will be very profitable and useful to the public." The committee consisted of Messrs. John Otis, Wm. Bassett and Thomas Smith, who were instructed to report at the next general court. Although this was the first official recognition of the project, it had for many years previous been a subject of discussion by our ancestors. It was doubtless suggested to them by their experience on Manomet river, in their intercourse with the Dutch and English settlers to the westward of them, in Rhode Island, Connecticut and New York. Samuel, afterwards Judge, Sewell, wrote in his diary about 1670, "Mr. Smith (of Sandwich) rode with me, and showed me the place which some here thought to cut for to make a passage from the South Sea to the North. He said it was about a mile and a half between the utmost flowing of the two seas in Herring River and Scusset, the land being very low and level. Herring River was very pleasant by reason that it was pretty broad, shallow, of an equal depth, and of white sand."

The first church in Harwich (being the locality in the town now known as Brewster) was gathered Oct. 16, 1700, and Rev. Nathaniel Stone settled as pastor; and his relation to that organization subsisted for the period of fifty-five years. This is a convenient period to review the nearly contemporary changes in the ministry of the county, which were so intimately interwoven with the secular concerns of the people. The Rev. John Smith, pastor of the Sandwich church, had terminated his connection therewith in 1678, and he had been succeeded by Rev. Rowland Cotton. Mr. Walley, the minister of Barnstable, who died in 1678, was succeeded, in 1683, by Rev. Jonathan Russell, the elder of the name. Rev. Samuel Treat, who was settled in Eastham,

in 1672, was destined to still longer continue in that relation. The Rev. Thomas Thornton, who was settled over the Yarmouth church, about 1663, with whom Rev. John Cotton was settled as colleague, died in Boston in 1700, in his ninety-first year. He was a man of eminent scholarship and ability. Mr. Thornton's removal, in 1693, left Mr. Cotton in sole charge of the church. Mr. Samuel Shiverick, about 1700, began a troubled relation with the Falmouth church, which continued, however, only a few months longer.

The division of the common lands in Barnstable was agitated in 1693, when the proprietors voted "to divide the whole of the commons and meadows to such as have a right." The names of 164 persons whom it was claimed were rightful proprietors, they being freemen and voters, were presented. Some 56 citizens remonstrated against the proceeding, and it was agreed to refer all matters in dispute to arbitration. Major Mayhew of Martha's Vineyard was selected on the part of the remonstrants, and Mr. Samuel Sprague, of Duxbury, on the part of the town. An adjustment of the difficulty was arrived at in 1696. The Great Marshes was divided, lots for choice being drawn; each lot was duly bounded and recorded. The marshes at South Sea and Oyster Island were, in like manner, divided among residents of that part of the town. Renewed troubles over this question sprang up in 1701. A town meeting, over which Rev. Mr. Russell was moderator, was held, and a variety of questions growing out of the matter of divisions of the commons were discussed. A committee was chosen "to draw up proposals for settling the propriety of the common lands, and to ascertain who are the proprietors, and what the share of each shall be, and the method to be adopted for dividing the lands from time to time in

the future." Maj. Gorham was chairman of a committee of fifteen for this purpose. The subject was still unsettled in 1702, when it was voted that three disinterested persons be chosen to determine who were the rightful proprietors, viz.: Capt. Jonathan Morey of Plymouth, Mr. Samuel Knowles of Eastham, and Mr. Joseph Deane of Taunton. A committee was appointed to "take account in the meanwhile of the townsmen and of their several claims, by their individual qualifications; this too according to the rule adopted in 1640." Eighty acres were reserved, the profits of which were to be applied to support of schools, and the same amount to the support of the ministry. The grand division was finally made in 1703, "of the upland commons and salt marsh that had not been before divided." The whole of these was computed in shares, comprehending in the aggregate 6000 acres, divided to each according to his right, the number of shares to each annexed to his name on the schedule, leaving to any aggrieved the liberty of the common law for redress.

The conflict known as Queen Anne's war, which commenced in 1703, involved the people of this county actively in its operations, as had all the English and French wars hitherto. The savage and ferocious cruelties exercised by the French and Indians in many instances, and especially the destruction of Deerfield in 1703, impelled that celebrated Indian fighter, Col. Benjamin Church, to again offer Gov. Dudley his services, which were gladly accepted. He was authorized to recruit 1000 or 1200 troops, which he immediately proceeded to do, going into every town in Bristol, Plymouth and Barnstable counties, receiving the enlistment of 15 or 20 from each military company in those counties, beside a considerable number of Indians. Lieut. Colonel John Gorham and Capt. Caleb Williamson of

Barnstable, were connected with the expedition, the former in charge of the whale-boat fleet. This was a novel and original feature of the expedition. The method of fighting adopted by the enemy was to keep so far up the rivers that the ordinary fleet could not reach them. Church's plan contemplated the fitting up of forty-five or fifty good boats, such as are employed in whaling, each supplied with five oars, and twelve or fifteen paddles to each boat. Upon the wale of these, five pieces of strong leather were fastened on the sides, so that when the boat touched the bottom the men might step overboard, and slip the bars through and take it up. Two kettles were furnished each boat for cooking food. The crafts were hauled up at night, and in stormy weather were upset, serving for shelter in the place of tents. In this way four or five hundred men could be transported to the scene of operations, with their arms, ammunition and provisions for several days' consumption. This expedition was only partially successful.

From this period, until the peace of Utrecht, which was concluded in the year 1713, the Cape towns, in common with the people of the whole of New England, were subjected to continual expense, preparation and alarm. It is estimated that for some years not less than a fifth of the inhabitants able to bear arms were in actual service. To say nothing of the sacrifice of health and life in these expeditions, the detriment to the industrial pursuits of the people was very great, constituting a continual drain upon the resources of all classes. These wars were filled with stirring and startling episodes. "For years after, the old sailors, seated in their round-about chairs, within their capacious chimney corners, would relate to the young the story of their adventures in the 'Old French Wars.'"*

*Otis's Barnstable Families.

The death of Ex-Governor Thomas Hinckley, which occurred at his home in Barnstable, April 25, 1706, closed a career of great usefulness and eminence in this community. He was born in England, in 1621; came to Boston in 1634; was in Scituate in 1639. He was elected a deputy from Barnstable in 1645, and from that time until his death was almost continuously in public life, being many times re-elected as deputy; twenty-three years as assistant; governor from 1680 to 1692, except during the interruption of Andros, when he was nominally one of his council; and of the council of the province of Massachusetts Bay, from 1692 until his death. He was also for several years one of the commissioners of the United Colonies. His tastes and abilities fitted him for administrative trusts, and his probity was never impeached. Although of a somewhat imperious temper, he seems to have accommodated himself rather closely to the popular side of public questions, and to have followed, rather than directed, public sentiment. When repressive measures were tried against the Quakers, Mr. Hinckley was vigorous in the use of means to that end, but yielded, somewhat tardily, to the rising tide of liberal ideas. He was on familiar terms with the Anabaptists, who were numerous in Barnstable. It was claimed for Mr. Hinckley, that he was the best lawyer in the colony. This might well be, as of professional lawyers none were there at that time; and certainly no man in the jurisdiction had acquired so wide an experience, both in framing statutes and executing them, as Mr. Hinckley. His first marriage was to Mary, daughter of Thomas Richards, who died in 1659, and the following year he was united to Mary, widow of Nathaniel Glover of Dorchester, a woman "of uncommon excellence and great accomplishments." Among her descendants was Prince, the historian, who spoke of her in these terms:

"To the day of her death she shone in the eyes of all as the loveliest, and brightest for beauty, knowledge, wisdom, majesty, accomplishments, graces, throughout the colony." Her husband, who survived her for nearly three years, wrote some verses to her memory, which have been preserved, and which were more creditable to the affectionate phase of his character than to his poetic faculty. Gov. Hinckley has many descendants.

The year 1709 added another to the towns of the county. July 16, of that year, on the petition of Capt. Thomas Paine of Pamet, the region was incorporated which has since been known by the name of TRURO, making the seventh township on the Cape; and Aug. 1, pursuant to the terms of the act, the town was organized, with the provision "that they procure and settle a learned and godly minister." Rev. John Avery was settled here Nov. 1, 1711. This region, it is evident, had been settled by a number of families, long before this time, and in connection with the fisheries of Cape Cod, occupied before the settlement of Eastham or any other places on the Cape.* In 1674, the Court ordered that Paomet (Truro) and Satucket (Harwich) be included in the town of Eastham. Certain proprietors from Eastham also settled here in 1700. The records of the general court for the year 1705 contain this order: "The part of the Cape lying between Eastham, and known as the Indian Pamet, shall be a separate town by the name of DANGERFIELD." This is all that is known, however, of this designation. No such town was ever recognized, and no intimation of its existence is contained in any local records or traditions of its people. It was doubtless intended to make this a district, but the name did not come into use. It is somewhat singular that the act of the general court

*Rich's Truro.

incorporating the town of Truro makes no reference to any previous act recognizing the former name, but says, "An act for making Pawmet, a District of Eastham, within the County of Barnstable, a township, to be called Truroe." The name is derived from that of an old borough and present city, in Cornwall, England.

A similar mystery exists in regard to Wellfleet. An order which passed Nov. 1, 1718, on petition of Thomas, Peter and Josias Oakes, agents for that part of Eastham called Billingsgate, by the name of "POOL," defines its boundaries, and the rights of whaling and oyster fishing. But the name was never recognized.

Two years after the incorporation of Truro, an effort was made by the people of Monnamoit to secure its incorporation as a township, and a notice was served in due form on the town of Harwich. The settlement, occupation and proprietorship of this town had been from the beginning, as has already been shown, a subject of much acrimonious and heated controversy. After being attached, first to Yarmouth, and afterwards to Eastham, in 1688, the place was made "a constablerick by itself," and enjoined to raise £5 per annum for "the enabling them to build a meeting-house for a minister." In 1686, it was ordered by the court to choose a grand juror, and in 1691, it was granted liberty to send a representative to the general court, and its western boundaries were considerably enlarged. With these privileges and requirements, it would seem that the region was entitled to all the prerogatives of a township, and a formal act of incorporation was passed in 1712, since which time the town has been known as CHATHAM. This name, also, is from an English town, in the County of Kent.

The common lands of the town of Yarmouth, remaining undisposed of, were divided among the descendants of the

original proprietors during the year 1712-13-14. The principle upon which this division was made was laid down in a town meeting held in April, 1712, viz.: "One-third to be assigned to tenements, of such as were inhabitants of the town, not to exceed two tenements to each person; one-third according to the value of the real estate of each person as rated in 1709; one-third to all male persons twenty-one years of age and over, born in the town and now inhabitants, or those who have been inhabitants 21 years, and have possessed a tenement 21 years." Nine shares were assigned to each tenement right, 7½ shares to each personal right, and all the residue, was on account of the proportionate ownership in the taxable real estate in town. Two-thirds of the town was thus divided into 3118 shares, and apportioned among the inhabitants. A final division of the other third of common lands remaining unreserved was made in 1715. The town reserved a considerable tract on the borders of Bass river—a large portion of the present village of South Yarmouth—for the native Indians, and also ministerial lands, training fields, and a lot for the convenience of those watching for whales, on the northerly side of the town.

In 1713, the treaty of peace negotiated at Utrecht put an end to the French and Indian war, which, with the short interception after the peace of Ryswick, had been waged for twenty-five years, and which had been a constant drain upon the resources of the colonists and an interruption of their peaceful pursuits. The people of this county had largely engaged in these warlike enterprises, particularly those of a maritime nature, and the dawn of peace was a welcome release to them. Nor were our people so far removed from the seat of hostilities as to be entirely free from apprehensions on their own behalf. The rumors of

invasions and of the incursions of a French fleet were frequently renewed to the dwellers in the seaboard towns. The following "Protection," of which a copy is extant, brings the distress of the times vividly before the present generation:

"PROTECTION.—Boston, Jan. 26, 1711-12. Upon application made to me, setting forth the danger that the village of Monomoy is in, of the French privateers, and the weakness of the inhabitants to defend themselves, being so few, I do hereby decree, order and direct that no men of the foot-company of the place be taken by impress for any service other than their own village aforesaid, without my especial orders, and under my hand, for so doing. This to continue until further order. Signed, J. DUDLEY.

"To the Hon. Col. Otis, Barnstable."

Henceforth, for thirty years, these fears and alarms were to be dismissed, and peace again to resume its sway.

In the beginning of 1714, the extreme end of the Cape, which had heretofore been regarded as a portion of Truro, was constituted the "Precinct of Cape Cod," and put under the constablerick of Truro. No legislative act with express reference to this region had been passed, prior to this time. The harbor, from its size, accessibility and security, had been from the earliest times resorted to by marine traders and fishermen, but only a few settlers had as yet made their homes there. Now, its great value and the dangers to which it was exposed were recognized; and by an act of the general court, it was "forbidden to box or bark pine trees growing on the precinct's land;" a tax was levied on sojourners not inhabitants, such as fishermen, of fourpence a man per week, to be applied to the maintenance of "a learned and orthodox minister;" the balance of his salary of £50 per annum, to be assessed upon the inhabitants of the

precinct, by the selectmen of Truro. At the same time the line between the Province lands and Truro was defined.

The advent of peace with the French and the Indians gave the authorities a long-wished-for opportunity to make an effort to suppress the pirates, whose depredations upon commerce had become so frequent and harassing. During the administration of the Earl of Bellamont as Governor of New York and Massachusetts, the attention of the authorities had been especially directed to this matter. The Earl came over "particularly instructed to put a stop to the growth of piracy, the seas being constantly endangered by freebooters." During his administration the notorious Capt. Kidd was apprehended, tried and convicted. The old ballad ran:

"My name was Robert Kidd, as I sailed."

But history records that *William* Kidd was executed. While commanding a vessel commissioned to cruise as a privateer, he turned pirate himself, and became the terror of the sea. After burning his vessel and venturing to make his appearance in Boston, thinking his character and acts unknown, he was apprehended, sent to England, tried and executed. The popular imagination, from that time to the present, has been periodically inflamed by legends of treasures hid in the sands on the seashore of New York and New England; but with the exception of one "find," of which the schedule was rendered to Gov. Bellamont in 1699, no record of success in this direction is extant. This lack of fortune does not, however, seem to dampen the ardor of treasure-seekers, and every year or two witnesses a renewal of futile attempts to penetrate the sands of the seacoast for hidden pirate-booty.

The execution of Kidd by no means daunted or discouraged the efforts of the large class of maritime

adventurers who sought to make reprisals upon commerce, no matter under what flag it sailed. Peace with France released them from the restraints of authorized warfare, and some of them turned their attention to the ships sailing under their own flag. The depredations and fate of one of these fleets was tragically connected with these shores. The *Whidah*, a pirate ship of about 200 tons, carrying twenty-three guns and one hundred and thirty men, commanded by Samuel Bellamy, some time in April, 1717, while cruising off this coast took seven prizes. The captain was obliged to transfer men from his ship to the prizes in order to send them into port. The captain of one of these vessels, observing that the pirate crew were drunk, regained possession of his craft and anchored in Provincetown harbor, where several of the pirates were apprehended, and afterwards tried and executed in Boston, the others managing to escape. The captain of the Whidah, having captured a snow on the coast, and a storm evidently approaching, offered the captain of the prize the release of his vessel, if he would pilot the ship into Provincetown harbor. The night being dark a lantern was hung in the shrouds of the snow. But distrusting the good faith of the pirate, the captain managed, by the light draft of his vessel, which enabled him to pass over the shoals with safety, to inveigle the pirate ship onto the outer bar, while the snow struck much nearer the shore.* A tradition exists that he threw a burning tar barrel overboard which the pirate followed. The fleet, consisting of the pirate ship, her tender, (the snow, of 90 tons,) a wine ship and a sloop, was put in confusion, a violent storm soon after arose, and on the 26th of April the fleet was shipwrecked near the Wellfleet shore. It is said that all but two in the large ship perished, an English-

*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. Vol. 3, P. 120.

man and an Indian. The sloop and the snow got off and escaped.

When the news reached Boston of the disaster which had overtaken the pirate fleet, Capt. Cyprian Southack, was sent by Gov. Shute, in His Majesty's sloop Nathaniel, to the Cape to look after the government's interests here. He reached Provincetown May 2, sent a whaleboat and crew to Truro, where horses were procured, and he proceeded to Wellfleet. A watch was set upon the wreck and the shore. Capt. Southack soon followed, but complained that he was not very cheerfully aided by the inhabitants, whom he evidently suspected of designs to appropriate the goods washed ashore from the wreck. He found the vessel on his arrival broken to pieces, with the wreck of a wine vessel some four miles from her, also broken up. There had been, he was told, at least 200 men to visit the wreck, some coming the distance of 20 miles, helping themselves to whatever came on shore. The gale had not yet subsided and continued for several days after his arrival. Capt. Southack secured the pirate's cable and anchors, and in consequence of an advertisement which he issued, threatening with the displeasure of the government all who were found with any of the shipwrecked goods on their premises, several cart loads of stores were reclaimed and sent to Boston, via Billingsgate (Wellfleet.) One hundred and two men, the crew of the pirate ship, were buried on the beach. In closing his communication with the government respecting this transaction, Capt. Southack speaks approvingly of the conduct of Joseph Doane, Esq., of Eastham, for his aid in securing the shipwrecked property, and recommended the arrest of Caleb Hopkins, (of Freetown, as he writes,) for obstructions in the performance of his duty. It does not appear that his advice

was heeded.* But Gov. Shute ordered the eight captured pirates to be brought to trial, and they were convicted and promptly executed in Boston. For many years after, as the legend runs, a man of "a very singular and frightful aspect," used every season to visit the Cape. He held but little intercourse with the people, but from his ejaculations during his troubled sleep, and blasphemous and ribald remarks which at that time passed his lips, he was popularly credited with holding intercourse with evil spirits, or of being disturbed by recollections of the bloody scenes in which he had been engaged. He was generally believed to be one of the pirate crew, who came down here to visit a concealed hoard in order to supply his present wants, and when he died, a girdle filled with gold pieces was said to be found on his person.† To recent days, King William and Queen Mary coins have been picked up on this shore, and the Wellfleet Oysterman, about the year 1852, told Thoreau that he had seen the iron caboose of the Whidah, on the bar at extreme low tide.

A remarkable physical fact was developed in connection with this shipwreck. The accounts of the "Bellamy storm" state that the sea forced a passage through the Cape very near the boundary line between the present towns of Orleans and Eastham, and Capt. Southack sailed with a whale boat through from the Bay to the Atlantic Ocean! It required a general turn-out and strenuous exertions of the people to close the channel.‡

The preceding pages have on several occasions recorded the efforts and expenditures of the people to exterminate wolves, which still continued to be, as they had been from the earliest times, numerous, savage and voracious. In

*State Archives.
†Alden's Col. of Epitaphs, vol. IV.
‡See Council documents in Secretary's office.

Cape Cod
Race Point
Gray Owde
High Land of C. Cod
C. Cod
Griffins I
James I.
Lewis I.
Barnstable Bay is not dangerous by reason of so many Flatts Vessells have Run a Shoar and have got of again
Note that the Depth of Water at some Bars are but little the Depths of Water are set down in feet at high and low Water and to be known from Fathoms There is the letter F placed by them
Barnstable Bay
Coarse Brown Sand
Eascham
Sandy Bay
Yarmouth
Barnstable
Lighthouses
the Seal
Channel way
Bishops & Clarks
Wreach Point
Fine Brown Sand
Coarse Brown Sand
Stony ground
Crab Bank
Stony ground
The Pirate Ship White Lost Table I. and 29
The Place where I came through with a Whale Boat being ordered by y Govern and to look for 5 y Pirate Ship Whyde Bellamy Commander cast away y 26 of April 1717 where I buried One Hundred & Two Men Drowned

Section of a map recently discovered in the British Records office, probably executed at 1715-20, and re-published by U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1891.

1717, at the instance of the people of Sandwich, the general court was petitioned to construct a fence 6 feet high across the Cape from Picket Cliff, the northeast boundary between Sandwich and Plymouth, to Wayquauset Bay in Wareham, "to keep wolves from coming into the county." Sandwich offered to pay whatever over £500 the fence should cost. Falmouth agreed to the plan, but the lower towns declined to pay their part of the cost. The towns to the westward of the county very naturally objected to having all the wolves on their side of the line, and the project was subsequently abandoned.

For a period of thirty-one years, peace with the French was maintained, and the colonies had an opportunity to recuperate their energies, after the wars of a generation. But in 1744 King George's war commenced, and was waged with all the more zeal and activity from the respite which the foregoing thirty years had given the combatants. The reduction of Louisburg became the prime object of exertion. This place, known as the Dunkirk or Gibraltar of America, had been fortified by the French at great expense and labor. It had long been the hiding place of French privateers, and when the expedition to attempt its reduction was planned, the Massachusetts seaboard towns entered with patriotic alacrity into the undertaking. The Seventh Massachusetts Regiment in this expedition, made up of companies from Barnstable county, was under the command of Col. Shubael Gorham of Barnstable, whose grandfather sacrificed his life in the Narragansett expedition in King Philip's War, and whose father had rendered most important services as commander of the Whaleboat expeditions under Col. Church, during Queen Anne's War, and fell a victim of diseases when the victory was won. His brother, Capt. John Gorham, was lieutenant-colonel, and Capt. Joseph Thacher

of Yarmouth was commissioned as major. The lieutenant of Capt. Thacher's company was Joshua Freeman of Harwich; ensign, Joshua Bassett of the same town. The Fourth company was officered by Elisha Doane, captain; Theophilus Paine, lieutenant; William Clark, ensign, all from Eastham. Subsequent changes occurred in this company, William Paine afterwards taking the place of his brother Theophilus, and Elisha Doane, Jr., serving as ensign. Lieut. Paine died and was buried at Louisburg. The first company was officered by Edward Dimmick, captain; and Nathaniel Fish, lieutenant; both of Falmouth.

On the 20th of March, 1745, 3850 troops, "principally substantial persons and men of beneficial occupations," most of them from Massachusetts, embarked from Boston, under the command of Sir Wm. Pepperell, and the siege of Louisburg was continued with considerable vigor, until the 16th of the following June, when the city of Louisburg, together with the island of Cape Breton, was surrendered by the French commander. The troops from this county actively participated in the several attacks upon the "Island battery," so called. Col. Gorham commanded the "Whale-boat" fleet, as his ancestor did before him, and though his attack was repulsed, his conduct was marked by gallantry and courage. Of the forty men from Yarmouth, thirteen of whom were Indians, ten fell victims to disease or the casualties of war. It was said that the first of the provincials to enter the "Grand Battery" was one of Capt. Thacher's Indians, who crawled into an embrasure, at the suggestion of an officer who had given him a bottle of brandy, to induce him to perform the hazardous feat, and opened the gate through which the force entered, not knowing at the time that the enemy had retired from the position.

The brilliant achievement of the capture of this fortress was received with demonstrations of great joy and exultation in all parts of New England, but nowhere was the degree of satisfaction greater than in this county, whose troops had been so actively engaged in this important enterprise. The pulpits even resounded with acclamations over an event which had in some measure during its inception, been regarded as a religious crusade, and the rude poetry of those days celebrated, in stumbling numbers, it must be confessed, the victory and the victors. In Niles's "Wonder-working Providence," printed in 1645, appear the names of the leading officers of the expedition. Some of those in Col. Gorham's regiment are, with himself thus mentioned:

"Whilst we in honor these commanders have,
Let's turn our thoughts to Col'nel GORHAM'S grave,
Who with his ancestors distinguished are
As men of courage, mighty in the war;
He lies interred in that new-conquered soil—
The fruit of his and others' warlike toil.
Lieutenant Col'nel GORHAM, nigh of kin
To his deceased Head, did honor win,
Unite in nature, name, and trust, they stood—
Unitedly have done their country good.
May Major THACHER live, in rising fame
Worthy of ancestors that bear his name,
And copy after virtuous relations
Who so well filled their civil, sacred, military stations.
* * * * * * * * *
And Captain DIMMICK slain by heathen's hand,
As was his father, under like command."

No sooner had this victory been won than the people of the sea-coast were filled with apprehensions on account of the intelligence of a powerful expedition which was to be sent from France to recover Louisburg and harass and conquer New England. The dwellers in this county were greatly distressed by the rumors which reached them, to the

effect that a lodgement was to be attempted on their coast. The inhabitants of Truro, in a memorial to the general court, showed their exposed and impoverished condition, and asked for means of defence. A supply of small arms, a four-pound cannon and some ammunition were granted them. Some of the towns petitioned against impressments for the public service. The formidable armament did not, however, molest New England. The casualties of the sea, sickness of the troops and death of the commanders, decimated the ranks of the invading army, and those remaining returned to France, to the great joy and relief of the colonists, who regarded these disasters to their foes as a great deliverance, in which the hand of Providence was revealed in a striking manner. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which occurred in 1748, was therefore a joyful event for our people, though the surrender of Louisburg to the French, in consideration of territory on the continent receded by France, was a source of profound mortification and grief to all New England. The feeling of exasperation was somewhat soothed, however, by the action of Parliament, voting £183,694, 2s., 7½d. to reimburse the colonists for the expenses of the reduction of Cape Breton. This money was used to call in and to redeem the "bills of credit," at the treasury, which was done at the rate of £2, 5s., old tenor, 11s., 3d. middle and new tenor, by one piece of 8—, that is, a Spanish dollar. It was provided that after March, 1750, all debts should be paid in coined silver which is said to be the origin of the term "lawful money."

The treaty of 1748 proved but a hollow truce. The rival pretensions of England and France did not admit of pacification, and infringements upon what the other nation assumed to be its own prerogative were constantly made by both of these powers. In 1755, war, which for three years

had been carried on without formal proclamation by England, was now openly declared, and the conflict opened which was destined to deprive France of her possessions in North America, and which directly led to the loss by England of her most valuable provinces, by the revolt and successful resistance of the American States. Not only did the English government, by the result of this war give to France a motive for helping the Americans to establish their independence, but it suggested and helped along the union of the various provinces, which was found so effective in practice, that it was afterwards employed by the colonists to resist the measures of government in the efforts to subjugate them and return them to their allegiance to the crown. The plan of confederation of the colonies to the more effectually prosecute the war, first suggested by Gov. Shirley, was formulated by Benjamin Franklin just twenty-two years before that distinguished philosopher affixed his signature to the Declaration of Independence. The people of this county continued their contributions of men and money for the army, and felt with redoubled force, the hardships of war, not only by their sufferings in common with the rest of the country, but in the interruptions to their commerce and the perils of maritime warfare. While bearing their full share of the pecuniary burdens, however, the men of this county were not so prominently identified with the leading military enterprises of these years as they had been in the wars which preceded this last and decisive struggle.

With one of the tragic and romantic phases of the French wars, our people were brought face to face. A party of Acadians, the story of whose sufferings and wrongs the poetical genius of Longfellow has invested with a touching and romantic interest, in seeking an asylum when banished

from their homes in Nova Scotia, in July, 1756, landed at Monument from seven two-mast boats, and were held by the authorities until more definite information of them could be obtained. Silas Bourne, Esq., of that place, who detained them, in a letter to Col. Otis, then in the council, communicated all the information respecting this party which he was able to gather, reporting that there were ninety of them, including women and children, that they stated they were last from Rhode Island but previously from Nova Scotia, and professed to be bound to Boston. To many at that time the character of these people was a profound mystery. They were, subsequently, by the action of the authorities, distributed among the several towns in this vicinity, and the vessels in which they came hither were taken and sold. Here, surrounded by strange and unfamiliar faces, listening to a new and to them a harsh language, this simple and inoffensive people lived and died and were committed to an alien grave,

"Unknown and unnoticed.
Daily the tides of life go ebbing and flowing beside them.
Thousands of throbbing hearts, where theirs are at rest forever,
Thousands of aching brains, where theirs no longer are busy,
Thousands of toiling hands, where theirs have ceased from their labors,
Thousands of weary feet, where theirs have completed their journey."

One of the legacies of the almost incessant wars, in which the colonies had been for a long time engaged, was a large public debt, and the natural and universal panacea which was resorted to, to tide over this indebtedness, was the issue of bills of credit. In 1711, £40,000 of this paper was issued, "to be loaned to merchants and others for a term of years." In 1713, it being found that the emission of bills of credit had afforded but a temporary relief, a new loan of £50,000 was effected. In 1721, another issue of £50,000

in bills of credit was made. This scheme, however, instead of bringing relief, resulted in pecuniary embarrassments; the bills depreciated, and suffering to many was the result. Another issue of £50,000 followed, "to relieve the decline of trade," but the real result was to stimulate speculation, especially in Eastern lands, for which there seemed to be almost a mania. The towns on the Cape suffered with the other parts of the province from this vicious system of finance, and it was many years before they recovered from its baleful effects.

In a petition to the general court, made by representatives of the several towns of the county, was set forth "the great inconvenience and expense incurred by the people of the Cape, especially by those remote, in being obliged to attend the Superior Court of Judicature and Court of Assize, at Plymouth; and they asked that such order might be had that the courts might sit once a year in the county of Barnstable. The application was favorably received and a term was ordered to sit in Barnstable.

By the terms of an act of the general court of June 14, 1727, the "Precinct of Cape Cod" was incorporated as a township, by the name of PROVINCETOWN. Owing to the peculiarity of its situation, and in its in many respects anomalous position, the inhabitants were exempted from taxation, except for municipal purposes, and from military duty. The provincial government also continued to aid in the support of the ministry of the place. The right of the province to the title of these lands was especially reserved, and has not been alienated to the present day. The value of the harbor to the commercial world led the provincial court to be especially watchful of its interests, and the next year we find that body passing laws to protect the beaches from devastations by those who pasture cattle

there, stripping them of foliage, and thus exposing the sands to liability of being blown into the harbor. And legislation in the same direction was had again in 1740.

The increasing population of the lower towns of the Cape, and the difficulties of travel, led the inhabitants of Harwich, Chatham, Eastham, Truro and Provincetown, at a meeting held in Eastham, Nov. 20, 1734, to prepare a memorial to the general court, praying to be set off into a new county, distinct and separate from the county of Barnstable. The reasons assigned in their petition were, their great distance from the shire town of the county, the loss of time to the jurors and all others obliged to attend the courts, and the great expense attending it. This petition not being granted, they again presented a memorial to the general court that they would order two sessions of the peace of the inferior Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions for the county of Barnstable to be held annually in Eastham. But this, also, was not granted. The next year Dukes county was associated with Barnstable in the terms of the courts of General Sessions.

The religious movement, known at the time and since as "*The Great Awakening*," pervaded New England about the middle of the eighteenth century. The writings of Jonathan Edwards, by which the faith and doctrines of extreme puritanism were reduced to a system, powerfully affected the members of a community given to the serious contemplation of spiritual concerns. But Edwards's doctrines, though metaphysically exact and symmetrical, did not appeal to the affectional nature. This lack was more than made up by George Whitefield, who came upon the scene at a time when the public mind was a good deal agitated by serious thoughts, and by his marvelous eloquence and contagious enthusiasm drew multitudes after him, and his converts were

gathered by thousands, from all ranks and classes of society. His adherents are known as Calvinistic Methodists, and were called "New Lights;" his opponents, "Old Lights." The latter were numerous, and denounced him as an "itinerant scourge." The disputes waxed warm, and almost all the clergymen in the country took sides and wrote or preached on the subject. The press teemed with pamphlets and more extended books from the pens of excited partisans. The clergymen of this county took concerted action on the subject which was engrossing so large a share of public attention. Ten of them, Feb. 20, 1745, subscribed to a declaration of the evils, which, in their view, flow from itinerant preaching. These were stated to be: "That it tends to destroy the usefulness of ministers among their people, in places where the gospel is settled and faithfully preached in its purity, and that it promotes strife and contention, a censorious and uncharitable spirit, and those numerous schisms and separations which have already destroyed the peace and unity, and at this time threaten the subversion of many churches."

The Cape had hardly been settled a century before emigration to more favored regions was projected. The cleared lands had been so often divided and sub-divided that the area remaining had become inadequate to the wants of the community. The system of agriculture practiced in those days did not provide for the enrichment and replenishing of the land, which had been reduced in productiveness by the removal of crops, but rather for breaking up of virgin soil, which in turn was again abandoned for still newer regions. In consequence of this system, or want of system, tillage land became scarce. The first concerted system of emigration, however, was to the eastward, instead of westerly, as at the present day, and the lands occupied

were the indirect conquest of their arms. The veterans of Philip's war were the first to claim the bounty of the government for their exertions and privations in the field, and most assuredly they merited some degree of consideration for services which had received but scanty pecuniary consideration. Though but few of the veterans lived to receive the benefit of their sacrifices, their heirs and legal successors kept up the agitation with a greater degree of success. In 1727, after many postponements and delays, the Massachusetts legislature granted to the officers and soldiers, who served in the Narragansett expedition, a township equal to ten miles square, in the Province of Maine, to each 120 persons where claims should be established within four months from the passage of the act. It was found that the whole number of persons amounted to 840, and the lands for seven townships, numbered respectively from 1 to 7, were subsequently granted. The latter, known as Narragansett No. 7, was assigned to the company of Capt. John Gorham and a few others, which territory was afterwards incorporated into a township by the name of "Gorham," by which it is now known. The grantees commenced their settlement in 1736, Capt. John Phinney and family, from Barnstable, being the pioneers, and were soon followed by a considerable number of families from the Cape, especially of the four towns which sent forth Capt. Gorham's company. The names of Bacon, Bangs, Bourne, Crocker, Davis, Doane, Freeman, Harding, Higgins, Hinckley, Hamblin, Lewis, Knowles, Linnell, Lombard, Paine, Phinney, Sturgis, are encountered as often as on the records of the Cape, and a monument in the centre of the town is inscribed with the name of the pioneer and founder, from Cape Cod, Capt. John Phinney.

The Indians of Mashpee, becoming dissatisfied with their

political condition, in 1762 asked for larger liberties, and the "District of Marshpee," in which enlarged civil rights were conceded them, was erected the next year by the general court. The district was represented as containing 237 inhabitants and 63 "wigwams."

The northern precinct of Eastham was in 1763 created a town by the name of WELLFLEET. It had been known as Billingsgate, and had for ministers, Revs. Josiah Oakes and Isaiah Lewis.

By the treaty of Paris, concluded in 1763, Canada, Nova Scotia and Cape Breton were conceded to the British. Glorious as were the results of the long series of wars between France and England, in which this county bore so prominent and creditable a part, the relief to the people from the burdens and casualties incident to this state of affairs, was most welcome. None could then foretell that in the next conflict of arms the relative positions of the colonies to the combatants would be entirely changed.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS, 1692–1763.

1693. Rev. Thomas Thornton of Yarmouth closed his ministry and removed to Boston.

1695. Mrs. Mary Prence, widow of Gov. Thomas, died at the house of her son-in-law, Jeremiah Howes, in Yarmouth.

In 1696, the town of Yarmouth in settling the compensation of Rev. John Cotton, provided that "he shall remit yearly the proportion of all those neighbors called Quakers."

1701. The selectmen of Sandwich and Plymouth settled the bounds between the two places. Also the selectmen of Barnstable, Sandwich and Sackoneset, defined the boundaries of their respective towns.

1702. The town of Sandwich gave to Rev. Roland Cotton "all such drift whales as shall, during the time of his ministry, be driven or cast ashore within the limits of the town, being such as shall not be killed with hands."

1703. Sandwich voted to appropriate £200 to build a new meeting-house.

1705. Mr. Cotton resigned the pastorate of Yarmouth church, on account of ill health. He died the next year.

1706. A purchase was made by the town of Sandwich of lands at Herring River, belonging to Zachariah Sias, an Indian.

1707. A "further division of the 40 acre lots" was made in Sandwich. Leave was granted, by the town, to certain persons "to box and milk 2,000 pine trees for two years, £2 to be paid the town for the use."—£20 was appropriated to secure the services of Mr. Thomas Prince "to instruct the children in reading, writing, arithmetic and Latin," and voted "that they who send shall pay £10 more."—4s. per day was fixed upon as the pay for town representatives in general court.—The town agreed to pay for wolves £4, "in addition to what is provided by law."—Barnstable voted permission to several Indians to dwell on Oyster Island, at South Sea.—Harwich voted that "every housekeeper shall kill or purchase 12 blackbirds or 4 crows before the first of May, annually, as aforesaid," under penalty of 6s. for housekeepers, or 2s. on single men.—Rev. Joseph Metcalf settled over the society in Falmouth.

1708. Rev. Daniel Greenleaf was settled over the society in Yarmouth.

1709. The town of Eastham, having been presented for not having a schoolmaster, John Doane, Esq., was appointed to appear in the town's behalf, and the selectmen were instructed to take especial care to obtain a teacher.

1710. Mr. John Avery was settled over the society in Truro; £60 per year salary, and £20 to aid in building him a house, was voted by the town.

1712. An agent was appointed by Eastham, to meet the agent of Harwich, "to determine and settle a line between the two towns, running through the land formerly reserved for the Indians." The presumption is that there were no Indians left to occupy the lands. —The proprietors of Truro voted, that "in consequence of the great waste being made of wood in burning lime to be sent out of the town, which may cause a scarcity of fire-wood, no person must cut on the commons for this purpose."—The "new purchase," in Falmouth, was laid out in lots, by a committee consisting of Thomas Bowerman and Philip Dexter, assisted by Mr. Samuel Jennings of Sandwich.—Rev. Jonathan Russell succeeded his father, of the same name, as pastor of the Barnstable church; salary £80, and £200 settlement.—May 13, Col. John Thacher of Yarmouth died, aged 75. He was a member of the provincial council, and was buried under military orders.

1713. The province voted £40 to the town of Falmouth "towards building a meeting-house; one-half to be paid when the frame shall

have been raised, and the balance when the edifice shall have been completed."

1714. The "Province Lands" were constituted by the general court the "Precinct of Cape Cod." The "lands lately purchased of the Quasons" in Harwich were divided among its sixteen proprietors.

1717. Rev. Samuel Treat of Eastham died.

1718. Sandwich voted that no more herring shall be taken in future to "fish corn," the supply before this being in excess of the demand thereof for food.—Rev. Thomas Prince, son of Samuel, Esq., of Sandwich, and grandson of Gov. Thomas Hinckley, was ordained associate pastor of Old South church, Boston.—Rev. Samuel Osborn called to the pastorate of the South parish of Eastham.

1720. Rev. Joseph Lord settled over the church in Chatham, and Rev. Benj. Webb the North church in Eastham.

1722. Rev. Roland Cotton of Sandwich died March 29, and Mr. Benj. Fessenden succeeded him.—The eastern portion of Yarmouth was set off as a separate parish or precinct.

1723. Rev. Joseph Metcalf of Falmouth died Dec. 24.—Billingsgate became the 3d parish of Eastham. Rev. Josiah Oakes was first pastor, and continued a short time as such.

1724. Rev. Josiah Marshall settled over the Falmouth society.

1725. Rev. Josiah Dennis became acting pastor of the East Parish, Yarmouth, though not installed until 1727.—Rev. Joseph Green ordained pastor of East Parish, Barnstable, then newly organized.

1729. Samuel Prince, Esq. of Sandwich died at Middleboro, July 3.—Rev. Thomas Smith became pastor of the first church, Yarmouth.

1726. "An awful and surprising Providence" occurred Aug. 6, to Ebenezer Taylor of Yarmouth, who on going down a well about 40 feet, the stones below caved in, and those above pressed together, leaving an arch midway, in which he was imprisoned for ten hours, hanging by his hands on the well-rope, at the end of which time he was rescued, in a very weak condition of body.—Rev. Daniel Greenleaf was dismissed from the pastorate of the first church in Yarmouth.

1730. Rev. Isaiah Lewis became pastor of the second parish of Eastham.

1731. Rev. Samuel Palmer settled over the church in Falmouth.

1736. Judge Peter Thacher of Yarmouth died May 26.—Joseph Parker and others of Falmouth were granted leave to establish a ferry between Falmouth and the Vineyard.

1739. Rev. Joseph Crocker was settled as minister of the third Eastham parish.—A grant of one hundred and fifty acres of land was made by the general court to Matthias Ellis of Sandwich, "in consideration of the great services rendered by him in the expedition to Port Royal, especially in guarding the artillery at the great hazard of his life."

1745. An act was passed for the protection and preservation of Provincetown Harbor, and of East Harbor in Truro.—John Hallet, in behalf of the town of Yarmouth, petitioned that by reason of the interruption of their whale fisheries, the inhabitants being much impoverished, they be excused from sending a representative to the general court.

1746. Josiah Ellis and others of Harwich petitioned to be made a distinct precinct, which was granted.—Rev. Benj. Fessenden of Sandwich died Aug. 7.

1747. Rev. Edward Pell made pastor of south precinct of Harwich. —Richard and David Sears, sons of David, of Chatham, having gone to England, and joined the army while there, both fell in the battle of Culloden, April 27.

1748. Rev. Josiah Lord of Chatham died.

1749. Rev. Abraham Williams settled in Sandwich, and Rev. Stephen Emery in Chatham.

1751. Rev. Edward Cheever settled in Eastham.

1752. Rev. Edward Pell of Harwich died.

1754. Rev. John Avery of Truro retired from the ministry in consequence of old age, and Rev. Thomas Smith from Yarmouth, because of inadequate support.—Rev. Benj. Crocker settled over the south precinct of Harwich.

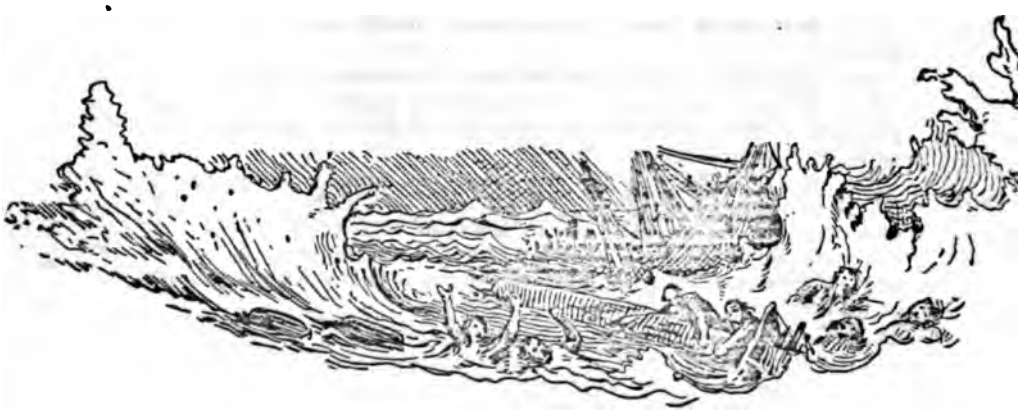
1755. Rev. Nathaniel Stone of Harwich died, aged 88.—Rev. Grindall Rawson settled in Yarmouth, and Rev. Caleb Upham in Truro.

1757. Small pox raged with peculiar virulence in Barnstable, and several citizens died.

1760. Rev. Oakes Shaw settled over the West parish, Barnstable, and Rev. Wm. Rawson retired from the Yarmouth parish.

1762. Rev. Joseph Green, Jr. became pastor of the church in Yarmouth.

1763. Col. Joseph Thacher of Yarmouth d. June 17, and Rev. Josiah Dennis of the eastern precinct, Yarmouth, Aug. 31.—Hon. Sylvanus Bourne of Barnstable d. Sept. 18.



CHAPTER XI.

GATHERING OF THE STORM.

Colonists' interests unheeded in the Wars—Lessons learned by them—Otis on the "Writs of Assistance," and Isaac Sears on the Stamps—Timothy Ruggles—Stamp Act, "Mutiny Act," and Duty on Tea—Mr. Greenough's complication—Resolves of the Cape towns—County Congress—Divided sentiment of the County at first—Obstruction of Sessions of the Courts—News from Lexington and Concord.

HE almost intermittent wars of the previous half century between England and France, had developed a state of feeling in the colonies which the mother country viewed with apprehension. So far as this continent was concerned, the American colonists had been left to bear the brunt of the fighting, and their interests and safety had been but little consulted in the frequent treaties and readjustments that followed the hollow truces which, from mere exhaustion, had from time to time been arranged by the combatants. The restoration of Louisburg to the French, after the arduous and brilliant campaign which accomplished its capture, surrendering it as an equivalent for the restoration of French conquests in other directions, was most repugnant to the feelings of the colonists. The people of New England, who had braved and suffered so much to maintain the supremacy of England on this continent, were thus left to calculate how much these exertions counted with the mother country in the great

game of diplomacy, and were made sensible that their welfare was secondary to other, and what was regarded as the more important, interests of the English nation. The restrictions with which their commerce and trade were hampered, the impressment of their citizens, both in the naval and military service, and the encroachments of the royal governors upon the prerogatives of the popular legislative bodies, were the occasion of much apprehension and discontent. The final conquest of Canada, accomplished in so great a degree by the valor of colonial troops, had educated them in the lessons of self-reliance, and of military skill, which was soon to be directed to upholding their own rights against the oppressions of their former allies. "The same old drums that beat at the capture of Louisburg rallied the troops on their march to Bunker Hill; and the same Col. Gridley who planned Pepperell's batteries, marked and laid out the one where Gen. Warren fell; and when Gage was erecting breastworks across Boston Neck, the provincial troops sneeringly remarked that his mud walls were nothing compared with the stone walls of old Louisburg."*

The reluctance of the colonial assemblies to grant supplies to the governors and judges appointed by the crown, upon the requisition of those officers, until they had carefully scrutinized all the items, had been remarked upon by the British ministers with grave disapproval on more than one occasion; but the exigencies of the times had led to the temporary waving of the question at issue. After the peace of Paris, the ministry had more leisure to pursue their schemes of repression, and the vast debt of the late wars led them to look about for the means of defraying the greatly augmented expenses of the government. Before

*Parsons's Life of Pepperell; Everett's Orations.

that time, in 1761, "the opening scene of American resistance,"* had been precipitated by the attitude of the citizens of Boston, sustained and vivified by the matchless eloquence of a son of Cape Cod. The oppressive acts of trade which had been passed by Parliament had been evaded by the people of the colonies, and the Superior court was petitioned for "writs of assistance," to aid them in their work of enforcement. The hearing on this petition was had before the court, of which Thomas Hutchinson had but recently been appointed chief justice. Gridley, for the crown, in an able manner laid down the law and cited the precedents. Oxenbridge Thacher replied with wise and learned words of dissent. James Otis, Jr., a young man who had recently been a student in the office of the King's attorney, in an argument which since then has been forever memorable, plead the cause of the people of Boston. He said: "I am determined to my dying day to oppose with all the powers and faculties God has given me, all such instruments of slavery on the one hand and villiany on the other as this writ of assistance is. I argue in favor of British liberties at a time when we hear the greatest monarch on earth declaring from his throne that he glories in the name of Briton, and that the privileges of his people are dearer to him than the most valuable prerogatives of the crown. I oppose the kind of power the exercise of which, in former periods of English history, cost one King of England his head and another his throne. Let the consequences be what they will, I am determined to proceed, and to the call of my country am ready to sacrifice estate, health, applause, and even life. The patriot and the hero will ever do thus. And if brought to the trial, it will then be known how far I can reduce to practice principles which

*Bancroft.

I know to be founded in truth." His whole plea was exceedingly able, and as poured forth was listened to with almost breathless attention for over four hours, a stream of eloquence, patriotism, and legal acumen, creating most intense excitement. Well did John Adams say, in reference to that plea and occasion, "Otis was a flame of fire; with a prompitude of classical allusions, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance of his eyes into futurity, and a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. American independence was then and there born. Every man of an immense crowded audience appeared to me to go away, as I did, ready to take up arms against writs of assistance." Though the validity of these writs was after some delay affirmed, they served no purpose beyond irritating and inflaming the resentment of the people of Boston and of the other sections.

The purpose of taxing the colonies, which had been under consideration for several years, was brought forward in Parliament in 1764, and the following session an excise was made on certain goods, and stamp duties were also imposed. The measure met with the most determined opposition in the colonies. The stamp officers were compelled to resign, and the act, therefore, became a nullity. In New York the opposition to this act was, if possible, more determined than in Boston, and the leader in the popular movement was one whose origin was from Cape Cod, Capt. Isaac Sears, who put himself at the head of the populace, exclaiming, "Hurrah, boys, we *will have* the stamps!" and they were seized and committed to the flames. The governor dared not resist; and Sears was then placed at the head of the committee for general safety.

The first Continental Congress ever assembled was held in

October, 1765, consisting of delegates from each colony, "to consult on the common interest." Of this body, Timothy Ruggles, recently and for some years an inhabitant of Sandwich, was chosen president. Up to this time he had been regarded as an ardent patriot. He was a man of showy abilities, witty, audacious and well-informed, but with no guiding principle, except ambition and self-seeking. Allied to this county by no ties of blood or lineage,* our people have no occasion to either take pride in his abilities nor to blush for his apostacy to the cause of liberty. The congress over which he presided passed a declaration of the rights and grievances of the colonists; asserting the first of these to be "the rights and liberties of the natural-born subjects of Great Britain—the chief of which are, the exclusive power to tax themselves, and the trial by jury—both of which Parliament by its recent action had invaded."

The repeal of the Stamp Act, January, 1766, was preceded by a declaration of Parliament that they "have and of right ought to have, power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever." In pursuance of the purpose disclosed in this declaration, an act followed the next year, imposing duties on tea, paper, glass, paints, etc.; a custom house was established; a board of commissioners appointed, and two regiments of soldiers sent over to Boston to enforce these laws and overawe the people. Another, and a most revolting act was passed, providing that all offenders against these laws should be sent to England for trial. This statute, denominated "the mutiny act," excited the fiercest resentment in the popular mind. The general court refused all compliance with this act, and it having been demanded of them that they rescind their declaration not to submit to the

*He married, in 1739, widow Bathsheba Newcomb of Sandwich, and carried on the double occupation of lawyer and tavern keeper, in the house still standing by the town house.

enactment, the refusal was again and most emphatically re-affirmed. Said James Otis, Jr., a reprepresentative from Boston in 1768: "Let *Great Britain* rescind; if she does not, the colonies are lost to her forever." Gov. Bernard then dissolved the general court, and subsequently refused to prorogue it. A convention of the towns was then called —the Cape being generally represented—and petitioned the King for a redress of grievances, followed by an "address to the sovereign people." They had barely time to do this ere Boston was garrisoned by 4000 troops.

The feelings of irritation, caused by these troops, were still further aggravated in 1769, by a demand from the Governor for funds to defray the expenses of the soldiers in Boston, which demand was instantly and indignantly refused. Then followed non-importation associations; and after repeated acts of retaliation, Bernard left the province and was succeeded by Hutchinson as Lieutenant Governor.

The Boston massacre, in 1770, was the natural sequence of the preceding transactions and the state of feeling which they engendered. Lord North this year became prime minister of England, and as a peace offering to the excited feelings of the Americans, all duties were repealed, except the slight one of 3d. per pound on tea, which was retained as the assertion of the right of Parliament to tax America. This the people recognized as the vital principle at issue, and determined at all hazards to resist; and they did this at an immense sacrifice of their business interests, particularly those of a commercial nature. Many families from this county, especially those in the towns of Harwich and Chatham, removed to Nova Scotia, the better to prosecute the fisheries and agriculture, under more favorable condi-

tions.* The towns of this county, through correspondence with the central committees in Boston, were kept in sympathy with the patriot cause. Associations of the "Sons of Liberty" had been formed in several towns, so that in the year 1773, those who resisted the acts of the British ministry were well organized and in a favorable position to repel the efforts to force upon the people the consumption of articles, which had been made subject to taxation, particularly of tea. The improvised tea party in Boston harbor had its accompaniment here. The arrival of the tea ships, the meetings of the citizens to prevent the landing of their cargoes, the boarding of the vessels by men disguised as Indians, who emptied the contents of three hundred and forty-two chests into the sea — all these events are familiar to the readers of revolutionary history. The day following, a letter was despatched to the South shore, which read in this wise:

BOSTON, Dec. 17, 1773.

Gentlemen:— We inform you in great haste that every chest of Tea on board the three Ships in this Town was destroyed the last evening without the least injury to the Vessels or any other property. Our Enemies must acknowledge that their people have acted upon pure and upright Principle. The people at the Cape will we hope behave with propriety and as becomes men resolved to save their Country."

To Plymouth and to Sandwich with this addition: "We trust you will afford them Your immediate Assistance and Advice."

The reference at the close of the letter was to still a fourth teaship which had been cast away on the back of the

*These families were not Tories, as some have supposed, but removed as from one state to another, at a time when Independence was not seriously contemplated by the general mind.

Cape, within the limits of Provincetown. This occurrence led to complications which involved unfavorably one who, up to this time, had held a high position in the councils and confidence of the patriots. When Capt. Loring's barkentine was cast away, Mr. John Greenough, the teacher of the town of Truro, and a member of the committee to carry into effect resolves of the several congresses, undertook to procure and did procure, two vessels for the agent, Mr. Clarke, and assisted in getting the cargo to Boston. While in Provincetown, he procured two damaged chests of tea, partly for himself and partly for other persons. As the tea paid no duty, he said he conceived that he might do so without injury to the country's cause. One chest was disposed of to Col. Willard Knowles of Eastham, and another retained by himself. This transaction was not viewed with lenity by the citizens of Truro, who held a public meeting, called Mr. Greenough before them, and received his explanation as already set forth, and also his offer to do anything in his power to remedy any evil effects of his action, which the town might require. The advice of the Committee of Correspondence in Boston was asked, and after considerable delay Mr. Greenough's explanation was accepted, and he was restored, in some measure, to the confidence of his colleagues. It was creditable to the patriotism of the Truro people, that the repeated solicitations of the owners of the teaship, to accept employment in transporting the cargo to Boston, were refused, notwithstanding promises of a large reward, and that several vessels there were unemployed. The vessels to do this were procured in Boston.

The public proceedings of all the towns at this juncture breathe a tone of the loftiest patriotism. Sandwich, in January, 1773, instructed its representative to petition the

King for a redress of grievances. In 1774, it was voted, not to import, buy nor make use of the teas purchased by the East India company, or subject to an unconstitutional duty. Yarmouth appointed a committee to see that no tea be brought into the town, and also a committee of observation and prevention. Barnstable prepared instructions to its representative, among the objects of which were, "to have the liberties wrested from us by arbitrary measures restored;" "to use every legal and constitutional method to have the Port of Boston opened and made free," and "in case the governor shall dissolve the House of Representatives" to join with others in forming a Provincial Congress, etc. Eastham, in 1773, voted, that the several acts of Parliament complained of by the colonies are a manifest violation of their rights; that every true friend of his country who should accept an offer of a judge in the courts under the loyal governor should reject it with abhorrence, and those who should accept it would be regarded as objects of contempt. It was also voted, that thanks be given to the people of Boston, "for their zeal and activity in the cause of liberty." In 1774, the town again expressed a determination to oppose the ministerial plan of taxation; that the action of the East India company to send their teas to this country subject to payment of duty, "is a violent attack on our liberties; that whoever shall, directly or indirectly, countenance this attempt, is an enemy to his country." Falmouth, in 1774, appointed a committee of correspondence and ordered that every man from 16 to 60 years of age be furnished with arms and ammunition; also appointed a committee "to see that the Continental Congress be adhered to." Harwich voted to purchase fire-arms, and to pay the taxes to Henry Gardner, Esq., the provincial treasurer. Truro, though exposed to great peril, voted their sympathy

with the common cause, especially in resistance to the scheme of sending teas to the colonies, and though some had been led to yield to the temptation of procuring tea at a small cost, the town remained inflexible on that point. A committee of correspondence was also chosen. In Chatham the record says, "a large number signed against tea." Wellfleet, in 1774, passed resolves pledging the town to "the defence of liberty against the unjust enactments of Parliament and the usurpations of the Crown;" also "not to purchase any imported articles on which Government has imposed any unconstitutional and unlawful duties."

The first provincial congress, which assembled Oct. 7, was generally represented by the Cape towns. This was preliminary to county congresses in the different divisions of the State. A Barnstable county congress, composed of delegates from the several towns, assembled in the court house in Barnstable, Nov. 16. Hon. James Otis was chosen chairman, and Col. Joseph Otis clerk, of the meeting. Col. Nathaniel Freeman, Col. Joseph Otis, Mr. Thomas Paine, Daniel Davis, Esq. and Mr. Job Crocker were appointed a committee of correspondence, to communicate with different parts of the county and with other counties in the province as occasion might require; and a committee consisting of Hon. James Otis, Col. Jos. Otis, Col. N. Freeman, and Mr. Thomas Paine, Daniel Davis, Esq. and Capt. Jonathan Howes, was appointed "to consider further the public grievances and the state of this county, and report at the time at which this meeting shall be adjourned." Thanks were then voted to the moderator, clerk and Col. Freeman, "for their good services," and the meeting separated. We have no information of the re-assembling of this body, but the foundation here laid, brought forth its fruit in the future transactions of the people of the Cape. An address adopted

by this body was circulated among the people, and had a good influence, concentrating the sentiment of the community in the direction which it pointed out.

There was need of great promptness and discretion at this crisis. Those who were aggrieved by the acts of Parliament and the assumptions of the King were by no means united as to the most practical modes of resistance, or in the determination of resisting by force at all. It was a step, which no one can be blamed for hesitating to enter upon, in view of the certain consequences of such action, if unsuccessful. There are many reasons for thinking that the moderate or conservative party was much larger than is generally believed. It consisted of pronounced loyalists—those who received or expected favors from the government—including many persons of position and culture; and a still larger class, who shrank from a contest with the power of the British government. There were many of the latter in Barnstable and Sandwich, who made themselves felt in the proceedings of the towns, postponing action in some cases, and at other times defeating the designs of the more advanced patriots. In Sandwich, Dr. Nathaniel Freeman, an active Whig gentleman, was assailed in the night time by parties who had felt themselves aggrieved by his course, and he barely escaped with his life. A loyalist mob in Barnstable cut down the liberty pole and went to the brutal extreme of tar and feathering a woman, whose sharp speeches had excited their resentment. In Truro, as late as Dec., 1774, such was the venom with which the loyalists viewed the patriot cause, that they threatened to assail the house in which lodged Dr. Adams, an ardent Whig physician, and a large number of citizens refused, for this cause, to employ him professionally. Rev. Mr. Upham, the clergyman of Truro, for entertaining a number of eminent Whig

gentlemen who visited the town, was abused in a most scurrilous manner by some of his parishioners, who forbade his entering their houses, threatening him with personal indignity if he did so.* Even after the events of Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill, in consequence of representations made, that some of the inhabitants of Eastham and Chatham, and other towns in the county, had violated the resolves of the Continental Congress and the Congress of this Colony, Nathaniel Freeman and Col. James Otis were requested to make inquiry into the matter, with authority to cause such person or persons to be apprehended and secured, and brought up to the court to answer for their conduct—but we have no record that this last step was in any case taken. Still later, in consequence of a letter received by the Council from Col. James Otis, a committee was raised by the legislature to investigate the conduct of "certain Tories in Barnstable, and in particular a person at the head of them who professes himself a whig." Until a short time before the outbreak of hostilities, the numerical strength of the loyalists was not inconsiderable, and embraced some men of position and influence, but they were in time completely overborne by the zeal, activity and efficiency of the patriots, until the moderate and temporizing of their number were swept away by the tide of enthusiasm and the force of will of those who had determined upon resistance. There was no footing for moderate or half-way parties. There were two extremes, and the one or the other had to be taken. Very soon, in the march of events, there was practically but one party here.

To punish the inhabitants of Boston, and compel them to make restitution for the value of the tea destroyed,

*Letter from Dr. S. Adams to Thomas Paine, Esq., of Eastham, Dec. 5, 1774.

parliament passed a bill interdicting commercial intercourse with that port, and prohibiting the landing or shipping of goods there. The effect was of course to deprive at once a large portion of the inhabitants of all means of subsistence; and the only way in which their sufferings could be relieved was by contributions from other towns. These were poured in from all parts of the country, the Cape not failing to contribute her share. Among these were the following: Barnstable, £12, 10s., 8d.; Wellfleet, £7, 10s., 8d.; Eastham, £10 and 50 bushels of corn; Falmouth, £30, 18s. and 5½ cords of wood, at one time; at another time £5, 15s., 8d.; Truro, £11, 16s.; Sandwich, £19; Mashpee, 18s.; Yarmouth E. parish, £7, 4s., 8d., W. parish, £5, 6s., 8d.; Eastham, N. parish, £7, 16s.

The year 1774 was made memorable by the meeting of the Continental Congress, and by the promulgation of the Solemn League and Covenant, to suspend all intercourse with Great Britain, set on foot by the leading patriots of Massachusetts. It is, however, the purpose of this narrative to enlarge upon these proceedings no further than is necessary to make intelligible the conduct and action of the inhabitants of the Cape. Heretofore, the local demonstrations had been in the direction of the assertion of their rights, and protests against their infringement, by the local assemblies; stopping short of actual resistance to authority. The time had now come when forcible means were resorted to, when the *first overt act*, done in the face of day, was to be taken by our people.

Parliament having taken from the House of Representatives of the province the right to choose the council — a right granted by the charter to the province — and authorized the King to appoint the council by *mandamus*, and directed the sheriffs of the several counties to appoint the

jurors instead of their being drawn, as provided by law, from the jury boxes, by the selectmen, the popular leaders determined to resist an act which put them so completely at the mercy of their oppressors. A court of Common Pleas was to be held in Barnstable on the first Tuesday of September, and they resolved to put an end to its sitting and prevent the transaction of any business whatsoever.

Accordingly, a large body of citizens, men of substance and position, from Rochester, Wareham and Middleboro, repaired to Sandwich the Monday preceding the opening of the court, and was there joined by many other citizens of that town. Dr. Nathaniel Freeman was chosen conductor-in-chief, and subordinate officers were appointed. On Tuesday the body marched to Barnstable, where they were joined by many citizens of that and the lower towns, in all about 1500 strong, and took possession of the grounds in front of the court house. Commissioners were then appointed, to ferret out the disaffected among the people, and require them to renounce in writing their Toryism. Many were found and signed, as required, but did it with a very poor grace. The court, led by the sheriff, soon made its appearance. The crowd giving way, Col. Otis, the chief justice, addressed the assemblage, demanding to know the cause of this obstruction, and was answered by Dr. Freeman, standing on the court house steps, as follows: "May it please your honor—Oppressed by a view of the dangers with which we are surrounded, and terrified by the horribly black cloud which is suspended over our heads and ready to burst upon us, our safety, all that is dear to us, and the welfare of unborn millions, have directed this movement to prevent the court from being opened or doing any business. We have taken all the consequences into consideration; we have weighed them well, and have formed this resolution

which we shall not rescind." The chief justice, then, calmly but firmly replied, "This is a legal and constitutional court; it has suffered no mutations; the juries have been drawn from the boxes as the law directs; and why would you interrupt its proceedings? Why do you make a leap before you get to the hedge?" Dr. Freeman responded, "All this has been considered. We do not appear here out of any disrespect to this honorable court; nor do we apprehend that if you proceed to business you will do anything that we could censure. But, sir, from all the decisions of this court, of more than forty shillings' amount, an appeal lies, an appeal to what?—to a court holding office during the King's pleasure; a court over which we have no control or influence; a court paid out of the revenue that is extorted from us by the illegal and unconstitutional edict of foreign despotism; and there the jury will be appointed by the sheriff. For this reason, we have adopted this method of stopping the avenue through which business may otherwise pass to that tribunal, well knowing that if they have no business, they can do us no harm." The chief justice then said, "As is my duty, I now, in his majesty's name, order you immediately to disperse and give the court the opportunity to perform the business of the county." Dr. Freeman replied, "We thank your honor for having done your DUTY; WE SHALL CONTINUE TO PERFORM OURS." The court then turned and repaired to the house, where they had lodged.

A committee, of which Dr. Freeman was chairman, was also chosen to wait on the chief justice and request him to attend at Salem at the time appointed for the meeting of a new general court, and there take his seat at the council board, to which he had been duly chosen. He answered in writing that he had concluded to do so, if his health

permitted. The justices also signed a paper not to accept any appointment under the authority of the act of Parliament under review. The justices whose names were appended were: James Otis, Thomas Smith, Joseph Otis, Nymphas Marston, Shearjashub Bourne, David Thacher, Daniel Davis, Melatiah Bourne, Edward Bacon, Isaac Hinckley, Solomon Otis, Kenelm Winslow, Richard Bourne. Thomas Winslow, David Gorham, and Chillingworth Foster, Esq'rs, subsequently, by request, also signed the document. The deputy sheriffs were then called upon to sign a similar declaration, and the military officers were also requested to resign commissions which they held under the existing authority, which they accordingly did. Before dissolving, committees from all towns were appointed to carry into effect the wishes of the meeting. Their names have been preserved, and are: For Falmouth, Moses Swift, John Grannis, Daniel Butler. Yarmouth, Daniel Taylor, Isaac Hamblin, Joseph Crowell. Barnstable, Ebenezer Jenkins, George Lewis, Eli Phinney. Sandwich, Nathaniel Freeman, Lot Nye, Seth Freeman. Harwich, Benj. Freeman, John Freeman, Lot Gray. Eastham, Job Crocker, Amos Knowles, Jr., Thomas Paine. Wellfleet, Samuel Smith, David Greenough. Truro, Dr. Samuel Adams, Jonathan Collins. Chatham, Dea. Bassett, Richard Sears.

While the English ministry, disregarding the protests of Dr. Franklin, and the warnings of Chatham, Burke and Camden, were taking measures to enforce their decrees at the cannon's mouth, the patriots of Massachusetts were deliberately preparing for resistance. And when the news was brought to Cape Cod, by rapidly-riding couriers, that Lord Percy, Major Pitcairn and their three thousand regulars had been driven back to Boston by the embattled farmers at Lexington and Concord, the whole country rushed

to arms, ready to repel other aggressive movements. Nowhere was this spirit more determined and earnest than at the Cape. When the intelligence reached Yarmouth, the two companies of militia in town — the western, under the command of Capt. Jonathan Crowell, of 16 men; and the eastern, commanded by Capt. Micah Chapman, 22 men — started immediately for Boston, but the news that the troops had not dared to again leave the place, determined them to return home, which they did, after three days. At Barnstable, 19 soldiers were mustered and started off April 20 — the very next day after the battle. When this body of patriots was about to move, in the first rank was a young man, the son of a respectable farmer, and his only child. In marching from the village as they passed his house, he came out to meet them. There was a momentary halt. The drum and fife paused for an instant. The father, suppressing a strong emotion, said, "God be with you all, my friends; and John, my son, if you are called into battle, take care that you behave like a man, or else let me never see your face!" The march was resumed, whilst a tear started in every eye.* The rhetoric of that speech, says Palfrey, may not be Greek, but the spirit was — it was Spartan. Ebenezer Weekes, of Harwich, when the news of the engagement reached him, said to his son, of the same name, "Eben, you are the only one that can be spared; take your gun and go; fight for religion and liberty!" The son obeyed, and others joined him. They were in the battle of Bunker Hill.

Henceforth all thoughts of a pacific solution of the differences with the mother country were abandoned. Minute men, ready to report hostile movements, were

*Eli Phinney's Diary.

appointed in all the towns, and "Resistance, unto death," was the motto of the hour.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS, 1764–1776.

1764. Hon. John Thacher d.—Rev. Nathan Stone settled as pastor of the East parish, Yarmouth.—Hon. Ezra Bourne, Sandwich, d.

1765. Rev. Jonathan Mills called to the pastorate of South precinct, Harwich.

1768. Rev. Joseph Green, Jr., of Yarmouth, d.

1769. Col. James Otis of Barnstable appointed a member of His Majesty's Council.—Rev. Timothy Alden became pastor of First church, Yarmouth.

1770. Rev. Joseph Green of East parish, Barnstable, d., and was succeeded next year by Rev. Timothy Hilliard.

1771. First Baptist church, Barnstable, organized, under the ministry of Rev. Enoch Eldridge.

1772. A mysterious tragedy occurred on the high seas this year. Sch. Thomas Nickerson, from Boston for Chatham, was boarded back of the Cape, in consequence of signals of distress which she was flying, and only one man found on board, and he "very much frightened." He stated that the day before a topsail schooner overhauled them, and four boats with armed men came aboard, and the master, mate and one man were murdered and the boy carried away. The survivor says, that supposing they belonged to a King's cruiser and would impress him, he had hidden himself and escaped observation, and after the invaders had left he came out, found the decks bloody, the chests broken open and plundered, etc. Edward Bacon, Esq., of Barnstable, notified the Governor, and Admiral Montague of the frigate "Lively" went in pursuit of the pirate, but none was found, and it was considered certain that there was none on the coast. The person found on board was sent to Boston, tried for murder on the high seas, and the jury disagreed. The next trial resulted in a verdict of NOT GUILTY, the trial lasting fourteen days, "the most surprising trial on record." The affair was transferred to the politics of the times and did much to increase the popular excitement. The leading Whigs expressed their belief in the prisoner's declarations, and charged murder upon the crew of the royal navy, while the Tories, on the contrary, insisted that he killed three of the crew to obtain their money, and then took the life of the fourth, who was a boy, to escape detection.

The names of the victims of this tragedy were, Capt. Thomas Nickerson, Elisha Newcomb, Wm. Kent, Jr., and another, all of Chatham.

1773. Pocasset incorporated as 2d precinct of Sandwich.—Terrible fire in Sandwich woods, attended with great destruction of sheep.—Samuel Tupper, Esq., of Sandwich, d.—Rev. Jona. Mills of Harwich, d.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Col. James Otis, President of the Council—Yarmouth Troops at Dorchester Heights—Cape Towns for the Declaration of Independence—Their contributions of troops and supplies for the War—Demonstration upon Falmouth—Death of Col. James Otis—Wreck of British Frigate Somerset—Wreck of American Privateer Brig, Gen. Arnold, Capt. Magee—The British at Wood's Hole—Capture of the General Leslie by Capt. Joseph Dimmick—Calls for supplies, and exhaustion of the people—Peace and the Fisheries—British Fleet in Cape Cod Harbor—Cape Cod Heroic Incidents—Captures and Restorations—Privateers—Jersey Prison Ship—Death of James Otis, Jr.

WHEN Gen. Gage left Boston in 1775, Gen. Howe, who succeeded him, kept up only in appearance the fiction of a lieutenant governor and mandamus council. From 1776, when Howe evacuated, to 1780, when the constitution was adopted, all public concerns were, in the recess of the general court, directed by the council, annually chosen under the charter granted by William and Mary. The eldest of the councillors present, it was determined, should be president of the council for the time being. Col. JAMES OTIS of Barnstable filled that station under this rule, and thus was virtually the chief executive magistrate for four of the five years interregnum, while Massachusetts was in the stage of transition, from province to state.

With the occupation of Dorchester Heights and the consequent expulsion of the British troops from Boston, it was the fortune of one of the towns of this county to be intimately connected. Gen. Washington, having determined upon the attempt to fortify this point, wrote early in the year 1776 to the council for Massachusetts Bay, submitting to their wisdom "whether it may not be best to direct the militia of certain towns, contiguous to Dorchester and Roxbury, to repair to the line at those places with arms, ammunition and accoutrements, instantly upon a given signal." Yarmouth was not exactly "contiguous," but was called upon; and Capt. Joshua Gray, who commanded the town militia, at once set forth, accompanied by a drummer, to call for volunteers. Every one manifested a readiness to go. The succeeding night was spent in preparation; the mothers and the daughters sat up moulding bullets, making cartridges and preparing for the departure of the husbands and brothers,* and at early dawn, 81 men were on the march for Dorchester, where they arrived in time to participate in the achievement which resulted in freeing Boston and Massachusetts from the presence of British troops.

The House of Representatives of Massachusetts, May 10, passed a resolve, requesting each town in the jurisdiction to advise the persons who should represent them in the next general court, whether, if Congress should declare them independent of the kingdom of Great Britain, they would solemnly engage with their lives and fortunes to support Congress in the measure? The responses were generally both emphatic and satisfactory. Sandwich resolved, "that should the Hon. Congress of the United Colonies declare these Colonies independent of the kingdom of Great Britain,

*The house, in the chamber of which these preparations were made, is still standing at the corner of Hallet street and Wharf road, Yarmouthport.

we solemnly engage with our lives and our fortunes to support them in the measure." Yarmouth voted unanimously "that the inhabitants of Yarmouth do declare a STATE OF INDEPENDENCE of the King of Great Britain, agreeably to a late resolve of the general court, if in case the wisdom of Congress should see fit to do so." Eastham instructed the representative to urge upon the Continental congress the importance of declaring the United Colonies independent of Great Britain. Falmouth voted to stand by the Continental congress on this subject. Harwich voted, "that should the Hon. Congress, for the safety of the Colonies, declare them independent of the kingdom of Great Britain, the inhabitants of this town solemnly engage with their lives and fortunes to support them in the measure." Wellfleet voted "that if the Hon. Continental congress shall think proper for the safety of the good people of the United Colonies, to declare said colonies independent, we, the inhabitants of Wellfleet, will support them with our lives and fortunes." Truro instructed their representative to "fall in with the Provincial and Continental congresses." The action of Barnstable was unexpectedly unfavorable to the patriotic party. Owing to personal and political complications, a peculiar condition of affairs prevailed in the town. The existence of a small but active body of pronounced loyalists there has already been noticed. Besides these there were some who hesitated to openly array themselves against the authority of government, and others, who hoped for a redress of grievances without a final separation from the mother country. Added to these were others, who from personal hostility to the leading advocates of independence joined with the other factions in voting against the proposition, or by not voting at all, and thus defeating an expression in favor of a cause which they afterwards were shown to

have deeply at heart. The proposition to instruct the representatives of the town to vote for independence was voted down, 30 to 35, in a meeting at which 140 were present. It is evident that in the heat of the personal controversy, the true question at issue was subordinated or lost sight of, and it was subsequently, with good reason, it would seem, claimed by some who were of the 35 nays, that they voted, *not against independence*, but *in opposition to instructing* the representatives *how* to vote. There is no reason to doubt that a town which gave to the popular cause the elder and younger Otis, Daniel Davis, Nymphas Marston, and a long array of other devoted patriots, and which had heretofore sustained their position, was sincerely and overwhelmingly in sympathy with their countrymen in this supreme hour of their history. That it placed the town in an unfortunate, if not in a false position, is evidenced by the fact that a protest, signed by Joseph Otis and 22 other inhabitants of the town, was made and requested to be entered on the town's records, that the subscribers thereto might be absolved from seeming acquiescence in "so strange a vote." This protest, the substance of which had subsequently been published in a Watertown newspaper, was, July 23, read in open town meeting, and it was then voted that the protest was a "wrong and injurious representation of the proceedings of the town." Although not prepared to recede from their former position, the majority were evidently unwilling to be considered as not in full sympathy with the prevailing sentiment of the community on this paramount question.

The action of the Continental congress, in passing the Declaration of Independence, changed the issue from one for constitutional liberty to national independence, upon the appearance of which issue all minor and subsidiary questions

seem to have been overshadowed, and the parties opposed to the loyalists to have been compacted into one grand and united patriotic organization. From this period the national existence of the United States must be dated, and all who henceforth supported the cause of independence, however they may have differed on preliminary questions of legal theory or of policy, are entitled to the cordial and grateful recognition of their countrymen for their patriotic exertions.

While the events already noticed were pending, a company of 100 men was enlisted in the county to serve on Martha's Vineyard, "to pass muster before Major Joseph Dimmick, and to be under the command of Major Barachiah Basset, for the defence of the island." The general court, in 1776, ordered that the selectmen of Sandwich be paid £4, 18s., 2d. for barracks, wood, cartridges, powder and flints furnished. Also that 600 cwt. of cannon balls be supplied for Truro. July 10, a resolve was passed by the general court, to "draft every 25th man" to re-enforce the northern army, and Amos Knowles, Jr. of Eastham and Joseph Nye of Sandwich were appointed agents for the county. Sept. 10, it was ordered again, "that one-fifth part of the entire militia be drafted to re-enforce the army." Joseph Nye and others were appointed agents to purchase 60 whaleboats with oars, to be delivered at Falmouth, or some other convenient point on Buzzard's bay, to convey troops to Rhode Island, and £360 was appropriated for these purposes. The men drafted for the Barnstable county brigade were designed for New York, but subsequently were ordered to Rhode Island, where the enemy's fleet had concentrated.

Enlistments in the service were encouraged in all the towns. Falmouth voted to add £1, 16s. to the wages of such citizens as should be drafted in the Continental army. Barnstable voted instructions to the selectmen to pay £1 to

each private soldier or non-commissioned private who should enlist, over the amount given by the general court. Yarmouth, West precinct, raised £70 to pay 5 men for the army, and the East precinct about the same amount. Eastham offered a bounty of £8 for those enlisting in the Continental service, and £3 for the Provincial service. Truro voted to give to each man who enlisted in the Crown Point expedition £25. £40 had been offered for volunteers for the Continental army during the war, but it was found necessary to resort to a draft. Subsequently the town was excused from furnishing its full quota. Joseph Nye, Esq., of Sandwich, was appointed by the general court agent for Barnstable county, to procure for the army "coats, waistcoats, breeches, felt hats, shirts, hose and shoes."

The year 1776 closed and 1777 opened, it must be confessed, under gloomy auspices. Every industrial employment was completely paralyzed. Agriculture, a secondary calling with our people, was greatly abridged. The whole seacoast was under the surveillance of British cruisers. At both extremes of the Cape—at Wood's Hole and Provincetown —the enemy were in full possession of the adjacent waters. It was in many cases impossible to meet the requisitions for money, even if those for men could be complied with. The town of Wellfleet petitioned, that on account of scarcity of money and the interruption of their regular business, they might have their tax abated. The memorial stated that the people of this town are located "on the most barren soil of the Province," that "all the land capable of being tilled would not yield corn enough for more than a quarter of the inhabitants," that "the harbor, which was convenient enough for small vessels in carrying on the whale fishery, was the only advantage of the location, and this pursuit, in which hitherto had been employed 2000 tons of shipping, and by

which nine-tenths of the inhabitants gained their living, was entirely cut off by British men-of-war anchored in Cape Cod harbor; that "the oyster fishery, by which the other tenth obtained their livelihood," was lost to them, and most of their vessels were hauled up and becoming worthless, and the few which attempted to go out of the harbor and fetch provisions had been captured; and that the town was almost destitute of bread and other necessaries of life; they therefore prayed they might be relieved from a public tax. Provincetown was completely at the mercy of the British; it was largely deserted by the inhabitants, and those who remained were obliged to trust to the clemency of the commanders of the ships of war in their harbor. In a lesser degree, perhaps, the condition of Wellfleet may be said to serve as the counterpart of that of the entire county.

But requisitions for men and supplies were constantly made of them. Jan. 1, the militia officers were directed to detach from the several companies of the town 25 able-bodied men, 1 lieutenant, 2 sergeants and 2 corporals, to be stationed at Naushon for the defence of the harbor of Tarpaulin Cove. Subsequently it was ordered that 53 men be enlisted for this purpose. Jan. 30, of 5000 blankets that were called for for the army, this county was required to furnish 160, viz.: Barnstable 32, Sandwich 25, Yarmouth 23, Eastham 17, Wellfleet 13, Chatham 9, Harwich 20, Falmouth 19, Truro 11. And Jan. 26, a resolve which had passed requiring the drafting of every 7th man was defined to mean 1-7th "of all the male inhabitants over 16 years of age, whether at home or abroad," a requirement, which bore with peculiar hardship upon a community made up so largely of seamen as was the county of Barnstable. Volunteering, after a time, exhausted the number of those who were found ready to enter the service, and recourse

was had to drafts. The men, thus drafted, in some cases refused to march agreeable to orders, and were committed to jail. These were aided and abetted by the Tories in Barnstable and Sandwich, and subsequently escaped from jail without paying their fines and costs; and the general court took action to reclaim them, to enforce the collection of the fines, and to dispose of the proceeds of this process. Growing out of these occurrences, the court appointed a commission, at the request of Joseph Otis and Nathaniel Freeman, to inquire into the disorders in Sandwich and Barnstable, with authority to send for persons and papers, Joseph Otis being muster and paymaster for the troops from this county.

The legislature of 1778 gave evidence that the success of the American cause was recognized as assured in the popular mind, from the fact that many who had sympathized with the British and had left their homes temporarily, as they had supposed, indicated a desire to return and give in their adhesion to the government then established. This county was not without some such instances. The dominant party, considering their causes of exasperation, can be said to have been inclined to leniency. Sundry persons in Sandwich, who were petitioners, were referred to the committee of correspondence from that town, who treated the applications with favorable consideration; and later, several persons, who were confined in Barnstable jail, were permitted to leave, upon producing a certificate from said committee that they believed these persons hereafter "will approve themselves faithful subjects of the state," they giving bond with sureties, and taking the oath of allegiance to the government.

The quota for the Continental army for this county was found to be incomplete, Wellfleet being one of the towns

delinquent in this respect. The town again memorialized the court, setting forth that great numbers of its inhabitants had removed from town, and that the circumstances of those who remained were those of distress. Half of the state tax was, therefore, abated. The situation of the entire county was fairly described by Gen. Joseph Otis. "We have," he wrote, "more men in the land and sea service than our proportion. We have, from Wareham line, a sea-coast of 60 miles to Chatham, where there is scarcely a day that the enemy is not within gun-shot of some part of the coast, and they very often anchor in our harbors. Under these circumstances, to detach men from their property, wives and children, to protect the town of Providence in the heart of Rhode Island, and not in as much danger, causes great uneasiness. Not a word is said against filling up the Continental army, although every man costs $450, which is owing to our men that are fit for the service being aboard the navy or in captivity by being taken by the enemy's fleet." Still the calls for this service continued; April 20, 70 men from this county were ordered to Rhode Island, and June 12, 78 more. Shoes, stockings, shirts, etc., were included in the requisition, the number of each article required of the county being 505, and £30 was the forfeit for delinquency.

In September of this year, the enemy made a demonstration upon Falmouth, and Brigadier Otis, with a portion of his command, went there to the defence of the place. The enemy had just engaged in a series of operations at New Bedford and Fairhaven, which reflected less credit upon their military skill than it did upon their capacity for burning and pillaging non-combatants, and evinced a disposition to continue these operations here. But beyond landing and carrying away four coasters and burning one, they accom-

plished nothing. The militia were ready to receive them, and they declined the combat. Almost simultaneous with these transactions, Brigadier Otis, receiving orders to raise 50 men in his brigade to go to Providence, wrote, "As the enemy are around and threaten danger here, it is like dragging men from home when their houses are on fire; but I will do my best to comply." A few days afterwards, upon the receipt of a letter from Gen. Otis, the council were desired by the house to order the company of militia under the command of Capt. Job Crocker, on duty at Barnstable, to march to Boston to do duty under Gen. Heath. It was also resolved "that inasmuch as the militia of the county have been and continue to be greatly harassed by the appearance of the enemy's ships and the landing of troops in the vicinity, the county be excused for the present from raising men agreeably to the order of the council." Col. Enoch Hallet of Yarmouth wrote about the same time, that "the general opinion that prevails among the people here is that this county is so much exposed on both sides to the enemy that it would be very dangerous to send off those men."

The friends of the popular cause in this county and throughout the land were saddened by the death, Nov. 9th, of the venerable patriot, Col. James Otis. His fame was somewhat obscured by the brilliancy and eloquence of his illustrious son, but it may well be doubted whether the services of the father were not of almost equal value to the cause of his country. He was what is known as a "self-made man." The ancestor of the family in this country, Gen. John Otis, was born in Barnstable, Eng., in 1581, and came with wife and children to Hingham in 1635, and afterwards, though at what time it is difficult to determine, was in Barnstable. Col. James was born in

1702. He learned the business of a tanner, but soon became distinguished for his intellectual powers. Being at court in Barnstable one day, as a spectator of the proceedings, a neighbor, who was unprovided with counsel, applied to him for assistance in a case before the tribunal. Consenting to act, he managed the case with such ability that friends urged him to enter the legal profession, after a due course of study. Procuring books, he assiduously devoted himself to his new pursuit, in which he soon became eminent. Colonel of the militia, at a time when both honor and influence attached to the position, he soon added to this title, that of a member of the provincial legislature, in 1745. It was one of the defects of the provincial system of government, that legislative, judicial, executive and military duties were often combined and exercised by the same persons,—a blending of functions and authority which existing theories of government, as set forth in statutes, expressly and most properly inhibit. He was speaker of the house in 1760 and '61. Being recognized as a leading patriot, his continued election was negatived by the government. He was nevertheless appointed judge of Probate court in 1763, and chief justice of Common Pleas in 1764. That year his appointment as member of the council was negatived by the royal governor, and, although during the remainder of Bernard's administration he was uniformly elected to the council, he was, for his fidelity to the people's cause, on each occasion rejected by the governor, until 1769, when Hutchinson, coming into power, tried to conciliate him by acceding to his appointment; and he continued in the position from that time until the opening of the Revolutionary war. He was a member of the first provincial congress, and, as before remarked, was the senior member of the provincial council, from 1775 until a short

time before his death. As a compeer of Samuel Adams, Quincy, Hancock and other illustrious patriots, he stood in the foremost ranks of the advocates and defenders of the popular cause.

Nearly simultaneous with the decease of Col. Otis, Nov. 2–3, 1778, the British war ship Somerset, Capt. Aurey, was wrecked on the back side of Provincetown, having, while in pursuit of the French fleet, struck on Peaked Hill bars, and, like many a good craft before and since, was unable to extricate herself. After unavailing efforts to lighten the vessel by throwing over guns and ammunition, a succession of great waves lifted her over the bar and landed her, a helpless wreck, a long way up the beach. There was a rush of people to the wreck to plunder whatever might come ashore; and considering the necessities of the times no one can greatly censure the needy populace for helping themselves to the spoil of the enemy so opportunely wafted to their doors. The militia of Truro and the adjacent country took charge of the crew, and Shearjashub Bourne, Esq. libelled the vessel, Col. Doane of Wellfleet in the meantime taking formal possession. Col. Enoch Hallet of Yarmouth, high sheriff of the county, marched the prisoners, 480 men, through the county to Barnstable and thence to Boston, and there was much exultation over the event. The Somerset had been for several years upon this coast, and had participated in the battle of Bunker Hill. Longfellow, in his poem of "Paul Revere's Ride," has the lines:

> "Where swinging wide at her moorings, lay
> The Somerset, British man-of-war."

While in Provincetown Harbor she had been a familiar sight, and had, with her formidable armament, been viewed with some degree of awe by the inhabitants. Under the direction

of the Board of War she was now stripped, her guns sent to various points on the coast, and her ammunition and small arms devoted to the use of the continental army. When abandoned by the authorities she was again pillaged by the local wreckers, and her frame left to the chances of time and the elements. The winds swept over her, and the drifting sands enveloped her in their embraces, until the changes of a century again disclosed her battered hulk to the observation of a new generation, to whom her history comes like a memory of auld lang syne.*

Another wreck, attended by more tragical consequences, occurred to an American armed vessel Dec. 26 and 27 of this year, in the awful storm, generally known as the "Magee storm." The government brig Gen. Arnold, Capt. James Magee, sailed from Nantasket Roads, Boston, Dec. 24, 1778, in company with the privateering sloop Revenge. In the bay they encountered a violent northeast storm, described as "unparalleled in the annals of New England." The sloop weathered the Cape, which the Gen. Arnold was unable to do, but in the afternoon anchored off Plymouth. The gale increased, and in the morning of Dec. 26,

*The remains of the Somerset came to light in the summer of 1886, and were examined by hundreds of people from all sections of the country. The following letter, received by a gentleman of Provincetown, was in answer to a request for information made to the Secretary of Admiralty, Whitehall, London:

ADMIRALTY, S. W., 28th May, 1886.

SIR—In reply to your letter of the 12th instant, asking for information respecting the British man-of-war Somerset, which was wrecked off Cape Cod in 1778, I am commanded by my lords commissioners of the admiralty to inform you as follows: The Somerset, third rate, sixty-four guns, was laid down to build in Her Majesty's dockyard at Chatham on May 5, 1746, launched July 18, 1748, and fitted as a guard ship. She appears to have been employed as a guard ship and on home service until 1776, excepting during the time she was under repairs at Chatham, apparently between 1768 and 1770. She left England in October, 1774, for the North American station. She returned to England in 1776, and appears to have been fitted again as a guard ship. She left England in March, 1777, and was lost off Cape Cod on the 2d or 3d of November, 1778.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

EVAN MACGREGOR.

continued very severe. Despite of ample precautions, the vessel becoming encumbered in snow and ice, and the waves dashing furiously against her, the sufferings of the crew were intense. Many began to sink and die from exhaustion. Lieut. John Russell of Barnstable, commander of the marines, was among the first to succumb, but others soon followed. On Sunday, the 27th, the storm abated, but the extreme cold continued. The vessel was boarded from the shore; seventy bodies were found frozen on the deck or attached to the shrouds and spars; thirty or more exhibited signs of life, but were unconscious. Of the 105 who sailed from Boston the Thursday preceding, only 33 were then living; of these 9 died a few days after, 6 were confirmed invalids, and only 16 entirely recovered. The people of Plymouth, with a tenderness and humanity which did them honor, took the sufferers to their homes, nursed and cared for them, and performed the last rites of Christian burial for the dead. The bodies of seventy-two of them, placed in coffins, were removed to the court house, where, after affecting services, they were committed to a common grave. The names of 11 of the deceased, who belonged in Barnstable, were: Capt. John Russell, Barnabas Lothrop, Daniel Hall, Thos. Casley, Eben Bacon, Jesse Garrett, John Berry, Barnabas Howes, Stephen Bacon, Jonathan Lothrop, and Boston, a negro.* Barnabas Downs, Jr., was the only survivor of the twelve Barnstable men on board.

The great public event of 1779 was the French alliance, which cheered the drooping spirits of the patriots; but at home, affairs were gloomy in the extreme. The town of Falmouth and the shores along the Vineyard Sound and Buzzards Bay being exposed to attack, troops for defence were concentrated there. April 2, a formidable fleet

*See "Remarkable Narration," by Barnabas Downs; Otis's Sketches of Barnstable Families, etc.

attempted the destruction of the town. At a late hour the night previous a marauding party from the fleet in Tarpaulin Cove landed from their boats, and under the direction of a refugee proceeded from Wood's Hole to the farms of Ephraim and Manasseh Swift. They drove some 12 head of cattle to the beach, knocked them in the head, and were in the act of taking the carcasses on board the vessels when they were surprised, and put off without their booty. Returning to the fleet they concluded to come back the following day, and burn the town. Information, which was communicated by a refugee, of this intention, soon reached the town, and great excitement prevailed. Expresses were despatched to neighboring towns, while the men at hand hastened the work of the entrenchments. Major Dimmick was in command. Col. Freeman, with Capts. Fish and Swift of Sandwich, arrived by the next morning. The expected fleet hove in sight early in the morning and came to anchor abreast of the town about 9 a. m. They were evidently surprised at the extent of the preparations to receive them. About 11½ o'clock they formed their fleet, consisting of two schooners and eight sloops, into a line against the posts on the shore, and commenced a warm fire with cannon-ball, double-headed shot, grape and small arms, and manned their boats, ten in number, with about 220 men, having, to appearance, double that number on board, and made several attempts to land at various places, keeping up a continual fire until 5 o'clock. The troops on the shore at first reserved their fire, but becoming impatient, and after ineffectually challenging the invaders to the attack, they opened a brisk volley. The enemy was soon forced into the sound, where they remained until the next morning. A party attempted to land at Wood's Hole, but the troops posted there opened fire and they retired to their vessel.

They went to the island of Nonnamessit, where they committed some depredations, killing a few cattle and swine, which they took away with them. The alarm was renewed by the appearance of the fleet on the 9th, but they finally retired in the direction of Chatham.

Subsequently the brigadier of the county was ordered to detach, for service in Falmouth, that part of his brigade in the towns west of Harwich.

Orders for the raising of 87 men in this county were issued in June, and requisitions for 513 each of shirts, shoes, stockings, for the army were made. Col. Nath'l Freeman was appointed superintendent for the county, and Col. Enoch Hallet, receiver for the goods. An embargo was placed by the legislature on vessels outward bound, excepting wood and oyster craft within Cape Cod and Cape Ann, such vessels to obtain permits. The lands of "conspirators" having been liable to confiscation, Joseph Nye of Sandwich was designated for agent, and a commission, consisting of Solomon Freeman, Esq. of Harwich, Capt. John Howes of Yarmouth, and Major Joseph Dimmick of Falmouth, was constituted for this county. The difficulties attending the moving of men for the protection of Falmouth, having compelled the officer in command to impress horses for the more rapid movement of troops, and the owners threatening prosecution, an act was passed exempting the officer from legal proceedings, but expressly providing that it shall not be construed to justify such action in the future.

By the summary measures adopted the coast was in a degree protected, but on the water, upon the whole southern shore of the Cape, the enemy's cruisers were very destructive and annoying. About a league off Hyannis, in October, they captured a fish-laden vessel bound to Stonington, and

drove another ashore on the eastward coast of Falmouth. A company of refugees with some 20 Vineyard pilot boats, ran into the Cape harbors and were enabled to take property, which was not duly protected. Gen. Otis applied in this emergency for a number of 8-pounders, swivels, etc., and engaged to procure "two small vessels and get them manned to scour the sound." He at the same time wrote that "Hyannis is much exposed; and to draw off the men to Falmouth causes much uneasiness."

The taking of the sch. Gen. Leslie, in Old Town [now Vineyard Haven] harbor, by a party under command of Col. Joseph Dimmick, from Falmouth, was an act of great gallantry and enterprise. The Leslie had on board 33 men and 10 4-pounders. The Falmouth vessel had 25 men, 2 3-pounders and 2 wooden guns. They went to Old Town harbor, where lay the Gen. Leslie and a sloop mounting 12 9-pounders, with three prizes anchored between them. They first made for the 12-gun sloop, intending to board and sweep the harbor; but the wind and tide setting out, they fell about a biscuit toss astern, and could not fetch again. This was night work. The sloop being alarmed began a fire. They then immediately ran the Leslie aboard amidst the attack from the sloop, firing a volley of small arms into the Leslie, wounding one of her men, who afterwards died, and receiving a volley in return, which hurt nobody; then, jumping on board, about 20 men drove the Leslie's men below, cut the cable, and carried the prize in triumph to Hyannis, with the vessel and her 33 prisoners, who were sent manacled to Boston.

Another of Col. Dimmick's brave and gallant acts may properly be narrated here, though referring to another period of the war. A schooner sent to the Connecticut river for corn—then extremely scarce in these parts, and

selling for $3 per bushel — was intercepted as it was entering the sound, and captured. The captain escaped to the shore in his boat and hastened to Col. Dimmick, whom he reached at midnight, and to whom he communicated his tale. The colonel jumped from his bed, and directed the captain to go for his brother Lot. The two soon succeeded in mustering 20 resolute men, and started for Wood's Hole. They there procured three whaleboats and proceeded to Tarpaulin Cove, arriving just before daybreak. It was very cold, and the colonel allowed his men to land and kindle a fire in a hollow, where they would be unobserved, and wait until morning. At the first glimmering of day the privateer and the prize were discovered lying at anchor in the cove. Col. Dimmick and his men were, in another minute, in their boats pulling vigorously for the prize. They were fired on from both vessels, but returning the fire, boarded the prize, retook it, got immediately under way, and ran ashore at the west end of the Vineyard. The privateer followed, and was repulsed; the tide rose, and in a few hours the schooner was safely moored in Wood's Hole harbor, to the great joy of the inhabitants.

Shortly after the capture of the Gen. Leslie, George Leonard, who was at the head of a company of refugees in the sound, sent a flag of truce to Gen. Otis, proposing an exchange of Barnabas Eldridge and Isaac Matthews of Yarmouth, held as prisoners, and Manasseh Swift and James Wing of Falmouth, held on parole, for certain persons captured on board the Leslie. Gen. Otis subsequently ascertained that Leonard, under date of "On board ship Resolution, Holmes' Hole, Oct. 1," had issued a proclamation inviting all who had taken up arms against the government to lay them down, promising "protection and every comfort" to such as should do so.

Monetary necessities at the close of the year were pressing; the currency was depreciated and of uncertain value. Committees had been chosen to regulate the prices of products, and everything possible had been done to prevent speculation and extortion.

An unpleasant episode of the times, though not necessarily a part of the record of the war, must be noticed in order to make the history of the year complete. The commanding general of the county became embroiled with the authorities by reason of his appointing a brigade major who was, from his antecedents and abilities, distasteful to the officers of the county. The council in delicate terms hinted a disapproval of the choice, and no notice being taken of this, some pretty plain talk was indulged in by the presiding member, speaking as the mouthpiece of the body. Gen. Otis, who felt, probably, that the services of his family entitled him to immunity from interference, was finally obliged to yield, and his future position and influence were greatly lessened by this unfortunate event.

The gloomy aspect with which the year 1780 opened was increased by the curse of an irredeemable paper currency, a calamity little less than that of war itself. The money and credit of the states being at a low ebb, the only alternative was to make requisitions upon the several states so as to include provisions and forage. Blankets, shoes, shirts, stockings, were called for in quick succession. 453 of each article were discounted as the proportion of this county. This was more satisfactory than calling for money which had limited purchasing power, as is illustrated by the fact that the general court in June of this year voted to Rev. Samuel Parker, minister at Provincetown, £3000 in addition to the regular annual grant of £45!

Another requisition for the re-enforcement of the army

was made June 2, and in order that a sufficient number of effective men might be retained on shore to supply the call, an embargo was laid on the departure of vessels throughout the State. From this county 187 men were asked for, and June 22, 223 more. Nath'l Freeman, Esq., was appointed superintendent for the county, and Mr. Freeman, with Barnabas Freeman, Esq., and Capt. Edmund Howes were appointed "to receive moneys in and of the public treasury." The sale of confiscated estates was urged forward for the benefit of the treasury, by the commissioners, Nathaniel Freeman, Daniel Davis and Joseph Otis. An additional call for 156 men was made Dec. 1. Besides this, a requisition was received Sept. 25, for 71,280 lbs. beef, and Dec. 4, for 136,875 lbs., for Barnstable county. These repeated calls completely drained the towns of men and of munitions, and the time came when the requisitions were not met, because there was no way of supplying them. The people were at the end of their resources. Harwich, Chatham, Eastham and Yarmouth were obliged to memorialize the general court, severally setting forth "the many difficulties and distresses the inhabitants of said towns labor under by reason of the extraordinary diminution of inhabitants and many other inconveniences of the present war"—praying that they may "be abated the taxes and requisitions for beef and other articles." A committee being sent by the general court to the Cape, the members were satisfied that no amount of effort and no degree of patriotism could furnish beef where it was not to be found, and that the requisition for the same amount of this provision that it required of the rich agricultural region of the interior, was a most preposterous exaction. A resolve consequently passed in Jan., 1781, "to stay executions issued against said towns until further orders," also to remit

a fine of £600 to the town of Barnstable, assessed for a failure to provide the whole number of soldiers that had been required the previous year, the members being satisfied of the inability of the town to meet the requisition.

The new constitution of the state being adopted took effect Oct. 25, 1780, and the first election by the people followed. John Hancock was chosen Governor, and Thomas Cushing lieutenant-governor. The first senator from Barnstable county was Solomon Freeman of Harwich, who served in that office for 17 — though not successive — terms.

The experience of 1781 was nearly a repetition of that of the preceding year. The people in general were greatly impoverished, but there still remained some citizens of means and resources. Loans of money were solicited by the state government for war purposes, and Joseph Nye, Esq. of Sandwich, and Elisha Doane, Esq. of Wellfleet, were made a committee to procure subscriptions. The county was again called upon for beef, 56,489 lbs. being its proportion. Men were called for to defend Rhode Island, the brigadier general being ordered to detach from his brigade "one 1st lieut. and 56 non-commissioned officers and privates, provided with good firelock, bayonet, cartridge-box, haversack and blanket."

Some of the towns, especially those in the lower portion of the county, feeling that it was utterly impossible to comply with the government requisition for beef for the army, met by delegates at Barnstable, and appointed Dr. John Davis to represent their case before the general court. In an address adopted "the inequality of the burdens laid upon the people" was intelligently discussed. Especially was the impossibility of furnishing beef enlarged upon; that they had been disproportionately taxed was rendered so evident to the authorities that £2224 of the tax of this year

was abated. Upon the representation of Brig.-Gen. Freeman, under date of Oct. 20, it was ordered that a guard for the town of Falmouth "be detached from the 1st regiment in the company and placed under the command of Lt.-Col. Dimmick."

Negotiations for peace had been progressing, and it shows the interest and importance attached to the fisheries, that the towns in many instances gave instruction to their representatives, to "ask of the legislature to see that the commissioners be instructed to preserve and restore that interest." Accordingly a resolve was passed Oct. 27, instructing the delegates in Congress "to present to that body the importance to the United States in general and to this state in particular, of the fisheries, that the rights heretofore enjoyed by the United States may, in any settlement of peace, be acknowledged and secured."

The condition of the army under Gen. Washington, early in 1782, which was most deplorable, was hardly worse than that of the people in many sections of the country. Nowhere was the state of affairs more apparent than in many parts of the Cape, as it is fully disclosed by the proceedings of the legislature. On the petition of Edward Knowles and others, in behalf of the towns of this county, that body, Jan. 30, appointed a committee to repair to the towns of Yarmouth, Harwich, Eastham and Chatham, and view the circumstances, hear all parties, and report; also to go into other towns in the county for the purpose mentioned, and until further orders, all executions for any deficiency in procuring beef or men, were ordered to be stayed. This committee was subsequently superseded by another, which after some delay reported that they were satisfied that the towns had complied to the utmost of their ability with the requisitions made on them, and that they were incapable of

complying therewith any further. And the committee having also reported that in their opinion all deficiencies of beef or men due from any of the towns in the county of Barnstable should be abated and all fines due from them be remitted, a resolve to that effect was passed by the general court. The last requisition for recruits for the army, of which there is record, was made March 7, 1782, which was a call for 1500 men, 36 for Barnstable county, to make up for the deficiency of the quota of Massachusetts line, caused by mortality and other casualties. Still other evidence appears of the total exhaustion of the resources of the several towns. March 12, upon the petition of the inhabitants of Eastham, Harwich and Yarmouth, and June 23, upon a similar petition of Barnstable, Sandwich and Falmouth, setting forth their extreme poverty and utter inability to pay their taxes at present, the state treasurer was directed to recall the executions issued and to stay in future, until further ordered, demands for two-thirds of the taxes.

One of the last acts of the general court relative to the war in connection with this county was passed Oct. 9, by which officers were directed "to cause the shores of their respective towns and the vessels in the harbors to be examined, that if any cattle or sheep are found which, from their local situation or other apparent circumstances, are likely to fall into the hands of the enemy, they may be driven to places of safety." Our coast was thoroughly beleaguered. The hostile movements on the south shore, in Tarpaulin Cove as the base of operations of the British fleet, were supplemented by a similar condition of affairs at the other extreme of the county, Provincetown being the place of rendezvous. The operations extended from Cape Cod harbor, all along the coast, to Plymouth. The

small crafts, which sometimes ventured to skirt the coast, bringing supplies from Boston, or to search the fishing grounds, sometimes succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the enemy's ships, and were treated with as much leniency as could be expected in a time of war. Lieutenant, afterwards the famous Admiral, Nelson, was this year in Cape Cod bay in command of his majesty's ship Albemarle, and gave up to its owner a vessel from Plymouth which he had captured.*

From the fact that the fleet in Provincetown harbor was controlled by English officers, instead of refugee American loyalists, the relations between them and the inhabitants was of a far more amicable character than those which subsisted between the parties at Falmouth and vicinity. The officers of the English ships often visited the people and cultivated their acquaintance. They sometimes attended church, and the chaplains not unfrequently preached. Dr. Wm. Thayer, a surgeon of an English man-of-war, married a young lady of Truro, left the service, and practised medicine, and reared a family there.† But there were not enough of such instances to greatly mitigate the existing condition of hardship and hostility. They were simply the "touches of nature" which are said to make "the whole world kin," and which sprang from the origin of both as members of the same great English-speaking race.

The endurance and constancy of the people, as exemplified by these years of suffering and privation, was at length to

*Hon. Wm. T. Davis of Plymouth has in his possession the original document of which the following is a copy:

These are to certify that I took the schooner Harmony, Nathaniel Carver, master, belonging to Plymouth, but on account of his good services, have given him up his vessel again.

Dated on board His Majesty's ship Albemarle, 17th August, 1782, in Boston Bay. HORATIO NELSON.

†Rich's Truro.

be crowned by success. Early in 1783, the negotiations which had been pending for more than a year were concluded, and to the inexpressible joy of the people, the cessation of hostilities was proclaimed by Gen. Washington, on the 19th day of April, just eight years from the day when Lord Percy started out on his ill-starred visit to Concord and Lexington. The definitive treaty was signed Sept. 3, following.

The part taken by Cape Cod in this great struggle for freedom, both in respect to leadership and the co-operation of the people, will be seen to have been of the most important character. The exertions of the latter in the field, as sketched in the preceding pages, were only limited by their capacity and power of endurance. They contributed to the common cause not only almost the last dollar and the last man, but the political wisdom and undeviating constancy of the elder Otis, and the matchless and inspiring eloquence of the younger of the name; the tireless energy and activity of Dr. Nathaniel Freeman; the military skill, enterprise and daring of Gens. Braddock Dimmick and Joseph Otis, men whose fame was not confined by local bounds. Nor should we forget to render again a just tribute to the services of one of Cape Cod blood and origin, whose field of operations was in the city of New York, that matchless agitator and untiring patriot, Capt. Isaac Sears.

The bitter and ghastly realities of the war have with sufficient minuteness and detail been enlarged upon in the foregoing relation, but there was mingled with these hard experiences enough of daring and adventure to impart somewhat of the glow of romance to the narrative of the times. The men of the Cape, not a few of them, were brought in contact with some of the best remembered and most talked of events of that eight years of agony and exertion.

Ebenezer Sears, a soldier of Yarmouth, stood guard over Major Andre the night before his execution, and, like all who came in contact with that gallant and accomplished officer, was deeply touched by his noble bearing and his unhappy fate.

Benjamin Collins, of Truro, belonged to the crew of the barge that rowed Benedict Arnold on board the Vulture. He was drugged and kept on board the frigate until he learned Arnold had joined the enemy, when, fearing that he also would be regarded as a traitor, he ran away to Canada, and did not return home for forty-eight years, when he spent a year in Truro and returned finally to his Canadian home.*

During the year 1775, David Snow and son, aged 15 years, were fishing back of Cape Cod, when they were taken by a privateer, and carried to Halifax. They were thence transferred to the Old Mill prison in England. They soon gained the confidence of the officers, who granted them many privileges. One day the young man found a file, and this led to a scheme for recovering their liberty. They arranged for a great party and frolic among the prisoners; thirty-six of them were enlisted in a scheme for escape. With the fiddling, began the double-shuffle of prison brogans, which drowned the noise of the file upon the prison bars. The festivities were kept up until the bar was severed, leaving room for exit, when the thirty-six emerged, undetected, from the prison yard. Knocking down the sentinels, they were soon outside the walls, and directed their steps to Plymouth harbor, fifteen miles distant. Before daylight they had reached the harbor, and embarked on a large scow, and were afloat on the English Channel. With almost superhuman strength they boarded a small vessel,

*Rich's Truro.

captured it and set sail for the coast of France. Upon their arrival they sold their prize, Mr. Snow and son retaining $40 as their share of the proceeds. They gave themselves up to the French government, were placed on board a cartel, sent to America, and landed in Carolina. The war was still raging, the coast was guarded, and their only hope of getting home was by land, which they accomplished after weeks of wearisome travel. Peace had in the meantime been declared. From Boston they took passage in a vessel for Provincetown. They continued on a boat their homeward journey. Mr. Snow ascertained where his wife, who had for seven years mourned him as dead, was to be found, and presented himself without ceremony. She fell in a swoon, apparently dead, but recovering, walked home with her husband. The boy, David, had now become a stalwart man, but he, instead of going directly home, went first to a neighbor's, without giving his name. The quick observation of one of the bright-eyed girls of the family penetrated the secret, and she said to her sister, "If that isn't David Snow, it is his ghost!" David got home before his parents, and met them on the road, where neighbors and friends joyfully welcomed them.*

Many Cape men found their way on board the privateers, which were so numerous and serviceable to the American cause, both in furnishing supplies and ammunition, and in weakening the commerce of Great Britain. In the two years, from 1776 to 1778, nearly eight hundred prizes were captured, which, with their cargoes, were worth not less than twenty millions of dollars. It is stated on authority that during the war quite two hundred thousand of tons of British shipping were captured by our privateers, principally manned by fishermen. These crafts did not always escape

*Rich's Truro.

with impunity, and when taken, their crews were consigned to a punishment only a little worse than death—imprisonment on board the "Jersey" or in the "Old Mill." On board the brig Resolution, a privateer taken by an English vessel in 1780, were 13 men from Truro and Wellfleet, who were sent to the Old Mill Prison.* Obadiah Rich, then or recently of Truro, was commander of the privateer brig Intrepid, of four guns.

The records of the towns, during the period of the Revolution, ever and anon contain words like these, after the names of citizens: "Died on board Jersey Prison Ship." To those who have read the history of that

> "fatal, that perfidious bark,
> Built in the eclipse and rigged with curses dark,"

no further description is required. It was an old sixty-four gun-ship, which through age had become unfit for actual service. It was stripped of spar and rigging and every trace of ornament, and nothing remained but an old, unsightly, rotten hulk. Its dark and filthy appearance perfectly corresponded with the death and despair that reigned aboard. It was moved about three-quarters of a mile to the eastward of Brooklyn ferry, near a tide mill on the Long Island shore. It is computed that not less than eleven thousand American seamen perished in it. Here were promiscuously huddled the well and the sick, twelve hundred together at times. Fever, small-pox, and all sorts of infectious diseases prevailed. Insufficiently nourished with the poorest of food, without medical aid to the sick, what wonder that the pestilent hulk became a charnel-house, a commitment to which was like a sentence of death. It is

*Their names were, Thomas Cobb, Isaac Snow, Joseph Crowell, Elias Gage, Stephen Young, Jeremiah Newcomb, Aquilla Rich, Sam'l Curtis, Nathan Atwood, Eleazer Higgins, Elisha Jones, Joseph Pierce, and Ezekiel Rich.

not known how many of our men perished here, as no report of names was ever made; enough is ascertained to leave a record which can never be effaced.*

The advent of peace brought to an end, except in memory, the privations, sufferings and horrors of the last seven years. When the rejoicings of grateful hearts were over, the people addressed themselves earnestly to the work of repairing the wastes of war, reviving long suspended industries, and pursuing, with all their accustomed ardor, the arts and avocations of peace.

With the closing year of the War of Independence came the close of mortal life of one who had infused into the hearts of his countrymen those principles of resistance to arbitrary power, of which independence was born. James Otis, Jr., standing in his doorway in Andover, was struck by a flash of lightning and died from its effects May 23, 1783. He was born in West Barnstable, 1725, graduated at Harvard College in 1743, practised law in Barnstable and Plymouth, and removed thence to Boston. He was appointed advocate-general at the Court of Admiralty, which position he resigned rather than sustain the application for the Writs of Assistance, which he opposed. His plea on this occasion has already been adverted to as a masterpiece of eloquence and conclusive reasoning. Hutchinson endeavors to account for his disaffection towards the government, by the fact that his father was not appointed chief justice of the Supreme court, to which he aspired; but the disinterestedness and patriotism of Otis need no defence from such charges or insinuations. President John Adams said, "I have been young and now am old, and I solemnly say, I have never known a man whose love of country was more ardent or sincere, never one who suffered

*Sketch of Jersey Prison Ship by Rev. Thos. Andros.

JAMES OTIS.

so much, never one whose services for any ten years of his life were so important and essential to the cause of his country as those of Mr. Otis from 1760 to 1770." He was elected a representative from Boston in 1761, opposed the stamp act in 1765, for which next year the government negatived his election as speaker, to which he had been chosen. His pamphlet entitled, "Rights of the Colonies Vindicated," was considered in England a masterpiece of good writing and conclusive reasoning. He was threatened with arrest by the government and for his severe strictures upon the conduct of the commissioner of customs and of the ministerial party, he was assailed in 1769 by the commissioners and other ruffians, in a public room, and was left covered with blood. The wound was not mortal, but it was seen that his intellect had been shattered. At times flashes of his old genius and eloquence would electrify his companions, to be succeeded by incongruous utterances,

> "Like sweet bells jangled,
> Harsh and out of tune."

In this manner he lived on until the elements of nature set free a gigantic intellect, clouded and shattered in its mortal frame, on the year in which the liberties of his country had been acknowledged by the British nation.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS, 1776–1783.

1776. Feb., Transport ship Friendship, Capt. James Holmes, was cast ashore back of Cape Cod.—A sloop loaded with English goods, household furniture, etc., sailed from Boston to Halifax "with sundry Tories" and a large number of women and children, some of whom were sick of small-pox, was cast ashore at Provincetown, the last of March. A committee was sent to prevent the escape of the passengers and crew and secure the cargo. The men were ordered to Boston for trial.—

April 5, the committee of Falmouth petitioned for a guard of soldiers to be placed "on the Neck," of that town.—The courts of the county were, by special act, postponed from May to October, on account of the prevalence of small-pox.—The continental congress having recommended the encouragement of the manufacture of salt, the general court also recommended to the inhabitants of the seaport towns to use their utmost endeavors to attain this end.—May 1, the council voted: "Whereas, it is represented to this court that a navigable canal may, without much difficulty, be cut through the isthmus which separates Buzzard's Bay and Barnstable Bay, whereby the hazardous navigation around Cape Cod, both by reason of the enemy and the shoals, may be prevented, and a safe communication between this colony and the Southern colonies be so far secured: Therefore, be it resolved, that James Bowdoin and Wm. Seaver, Esquires, with such as the House shall join, or a major part of them, be a committee to repair to the town of Sandwich and view the premises, and determine whether the cutting of the aforesaid be practicable; and they are hereby authorized to employ any necessary assistance of surveyors and engineers for the purpose." Col. Freeman, Brig. Godfrey and Mr. Cushing were joined on the part of the House.

1777. This year the brig Wilkes was cast away on the back side of the Cape, in Eastham, and was pillaged by some parties on shore. The town held a meeting and appointed a committee to endeavor to bring the offenders to justice.—Aug. 17, the board of war was requested to furnish field pieces and ammunition for the defence of Truro, and it was ordered that a company be raised in Truro and adjoining towns to be constantly in practice, and be ready at all times to prevent all intercourse with the British men-of-war in Cape Cod harbor or elsewhere, as well as for protection.

1778. Mar. 23, regular session of the Courts suspended, so many officers, justices, etc., being engaged in military and other operations for the public defence.—Small-pox raged this year in Sandwich, and also carried off large numbers of the native Indians of Yarmouth.—Barnstable was agitated by the action of the provincial assembly, which put on record aspersions upon the patriotism of the town's representative, Edward Bacon, Esq. This quarrel had much to do with the unfortunate record of the town on the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Bacon was vindicated by his townsmen, and subsequently restored most fully to the public confidence.

1779. Committees were chosen by the towns to regulate the prices of necessaries of life and prevent extortion.—Ship America, with Capt. Wm. Doane and twenty-two others of Wellfleet, was lost at sea.

1780. By a special act of the legislature, Joseph Otis and David Thacher, Esquires, were authorized to license Otis Loring of Barnstable to keep an inn; the reason assigned for this unusual proceeding being "for the better accommodation for the courts of justice."—

May 19, occurred the "dark day," an event which caused much speculation among the learned, as well as the unlettered and superstitious.

1781. An act passed to prevent damage to Nobscusset meadows in Yarmouth.—All the towns were engaged in ineffectual efforts to procure their quota of beef for the army.—The militia was this year reorganized, consequent upon the adoption of the Constitution, and the personnel was as follows: Brig.-Gen., Nathaniel Freeman of Sandwich, who held office for twelve years succeeding. Brigade Major and Inspector, Nathaniel Freeman, Jr., who held office for sixteen years. First Regiment—Col. Enoch Hallet, Yarmouth, resigned 1790. Lt.-Col. Joseph Dimmick, Falmouth, promoted Major in 1790, Brig.-Gen., 1794. Major, Micah Chapman, Yarmouth, succeeded 1790. Adjutant, Thomas Thacher, Yarmouth, succeeded 1790. Second Regiment —Col. Benj. Godfrey, Chatham, resigned 1790. Lt.-Col. Job Crocker, Chatham, succeeded 1790. Major, Wm. Gage, Harwich, Adjutant, Joseph Paine, Chatham, succeeded 1790.

1783. Rev. Mr. Hilliard dismissed from East church, Barnstable, and Rev. John Miller appointed his successor.—Rev. Thomas Roby called to pastorate of church in Chatham.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE PEACE OF 1783 TO THE WAR OF 1812-15.

Ratification of Constitution of the United States—First Representative in Congress from the Cape—Incorporation of Dennis, Orleans and Brewster—Rise and growth of Methodism on the Cape—Manufacture of Salt—Wreck of Salem Ships on Peaked Hill Bars—Canal across the Cape—Sandwich Academy incorporated—Dr. Samuel West—Maritime Achievements of Cape Captains, Ebenezer Sears, John Kenrick, Elijah Cobb—Robespierre—Barbary Pirates—Commercial Restrictions, Embargo acts, etc.

IT cannot be deemed strange that such a severe struggle as that of the Revolutionary War should have been succeeded by a season of comparative exhaustion. But in a little time the old energy and resolution of the people returned, and they commenced anew upon a career of activity and development. But the want of uniform commercial regulations, and a safe and convenient currency, and the heavy debt impending over them, were the sources of embarrassments and hindrances to growth and the prosperity of trade. The public mind was soon brought to see the need of a new bond of union between the different states.

In 1787, the constitution of the United States having been adopted by the general convention, the several states held conventions to ratify or reject the same. The convention for Massachusetts was an able body, and the debates were animated and of marked ability. The vote on the ratification was quite close, but the preponderance of sentiment in this

county was strongly in favor of the adoption of the constitution, as will be seen by the record of the vote of the members, as follows: Yeas, Shearjashub Bourne, of Barnstable; David Thacher and Jonathan Howes, of Yarmouth; Solomon Freeman and Kimbal Clark of Harwich; Levi Whitman of Wellfleet; Joseph Palmer, of Falmouth. Nays, Thomas Smith and Thomas Nye, of Sandwich. Shearjashub Bourne was chosen representative to the second congress from the district which comprised the county of Barnstable, having received the unanimous vote of this county for that office, which he faithfully filled for two successive terms.

From this time, for a number of years, there were no questions before the people demanding their absorbing attention, apart from the concerns of the general public. In 1794, by a division of Yarmouth, DENNIS was incorporated as a separate township. The separation of Dennis from the mother town was effected without controversy and with the cordial assent of both sections. It was done with the design of subserving the convenience of the citizens in the transaction of their local business. As a matter of fact, they had for many years preceding acted as separate communities. In the Revolutionary War, the East and West parishes not only levied their ministerial taxes, but voted money and made regulations for raising troops and carrying on the campaign, distinct from and with the assent of the town, and the system worked so well that they were led to continue it in relation to all municipal affairs. The final action of the town on this matter was substantially unanimous, and from that time to the present, the relations of the two towns have been harmonious and fraternal. The name given to the new town was that of a former beloved pastor of the West parish, Rev. Josiah Dennis.

Three years later, the town of ORLEANS was incorporated, being set off from Eastham, of which it had heretofore formed the South precinct. This separation was also effected without serious controversy, or opposition from the remainder of the town. The seceding portion did not take the name, though it embraced the larger portion of the population, of the mother town, and it retained the original records. None of the contemporary documents throw light upon the reason for assuming the name by which it has since been known.

The separation of the North parish of Harwich from that town, in 1803, and its incorporation by the name of BREWSTER, was not effected without bitter controversy, the results of which continued for many years thereafter. The distance between the villages on the north and south sides of the Cape would naturally suggest the ultimate division of the township; but it is probable that matters of political expediency hastened the movement, and led to opposition in the new township, which under other circumstances it would not have encountered. There was a strong remonstrance against the division, signed by a considerable number of citizens of the North parish, as well as those from the South parish, and their representations led to the insertion of the incongruous provision into the act of incorporation, permitting such of them as were living in the North parish, "together with such widows as live therein, and shall request it, have liberty to remain, with their families and estates to the town of Harwich, by leaving their names in the office of the secretary of this commonwealth at any time within two years from the act of incorporation, certifying that such is their intention." A paper, containing the names of 65 citizens, two of them widows, was filed with the town clerk of Harwich and in the office of the secretary of the

commonwealth, the subsequent year, in which they express their intention of availing themselves of the provisions of this section of the act of incorporation. It can readily be seen that such an anomalous provision as this was liable to lead to great confusion of authority and endless difficulties and complications while it remained in existence, and kept up the antagonism growing out of the division long after the period, which, under ordinary circumstances, would have subsided. In the division, the old name of the township was conceded to the younger portion in point of time of settlement, and the new town was given the name of the old Pilgrim pastor, who was a near and dear friend of those who first occupied this region.

The changing phases of the religious sentiments of a people are always interesting and instructive subjects of inquiry and speculation. The "Great Awakening" of 1725-45, with the Whitefield episode, was a breaking away from the formalism of the churches, which had themselves originated in a protest against the ceremonious forms and ritualism of the Established church of England. In the latter part of the century the Methodists began to attract the more earnest and demonstrative portion of the people, by their fervid and impassioned preaching. These sectaries did not meet the approval of the learned and refined, but possessed great fascination for men of ardent natures and warm susceptibilities. Their meetings were held in dwellings and out-houses, the ordinary places of assembling being denied to them. Men and women came from great distances and tarried long, to listen to the earnest words of the uncultured preachers, who, disdaining the rules of rhetoric or the conventionalities of the church organizations, went right home to the subject, esteeming the soul of the rude fisherman or common sailor of as much account as the most

important man in the parish. It was what Southey styled "Religion in earnest." Such was the preaching of the first Methodists—a sect which, from humble beginnings, has since become great, powerful and influential, with endowed seminaries, gifted preachers, and professors learned in all the lore of the schools. Jesse Lee commenced his preaching in Boston, where he formed a society in 1792, and another society was gathered in Lynn about the same time. From Boston, small numbers of these people found their way to the Cape. Capt. Wm. Humbert, a local preacher, while lying windbound in Provincetown harbor, preached in that place some time in the year 1793. Rev. Joseph Snelling and Rev. Hawkins also soon after preached in that town and in Truro and Wellfleet. Mr. Snelling was really the pioneer of Methodism in the county, where he was stationed for about twenty years. The first Methodist meeting-house on the Cape and the second one in the country, was built in Truro, in 1794. It was at first intended to build in Provincetown, but the persecution there was so intense that the project was postponed. The next year the plan of building in Provincetown was revived and the meeting-house was erected. The society purchased a frame and landed it on shore to be raised the next day; but during the night it was carried off and cut up, so that nothing remained but chips. The minister, Rev. Geo. Cannon, was tarred and feathered in effigy, and the mob threatened to subject his person to the same treatment. Nothing daunted nor discouraged, these earnest men procured another frame, and succeeded in accomplishing their object. Subsequently, Rev. Mr. Lee came down from Boston, and the offenders were exposed to a withering excoriation at his hands. In 1796, there were but two preachers of the denomination stationed on the Cape—Mr. Snelling, who officiated in

Provincetown, Truro and Wellfleet; and Rev. Joshua Hall, in Sandwich. Methodism was introduced into Barnstable in 1808, where the first preacher was threatened by the mob. Dr. Francis Weeks, one of the first of the men of social influence in the county to embrace its tenets, inculcated the doctrine at Falmouth, the same year. From that time onward the spread of the denomination has been steady, until it now embraces by far the largest number of worshippers of any Christian denomination in the country.*

It required nearly a half century to extinguish the prejudice and bitterness with which this sect was regarded, by a portion of the community, who adhered to the old order of things. The Baptists were first gathered in this county in a church organization, at Harwich in 1756. Rev. Elisha Paine was their pastor, and he was succeeded by Rev. Richard Chase. They cannot be considered as seceders from the existing churches, in any regard, except in their views of immersion as a requisite in the baptismal rite. In fact, they were, if anything, more congregational than the Congregationalists themselves. With these few exceptions, if such they may be regarded, and those of the Quaker societies of the county, the Methodist movement was the first great schism from the "standing order" since the settlement of the county; and this circumstance accounts, in some degree, for the bitterness and distrust with which the new movement was viewed by the generation which first came in contact with the disciples of this faith.

The granting of letters patent in 1799, to Mr. John Sears, for the manufacture of salt by solar evaporation, after years of effort and experiment, renders this a convenient and suitable occasion to review the history of this once important industry. During the Revolutionary war, and afterwards,

*Rich's Truro. Life of Rev. Joseph Snelling.

this prime necessary of life was scarce and high, and many attempts were made to manufacture it from sea water. But the salt obtained was impure, and but little progress was made in the business. Mr. Sears was the first person who was completely successful in procuring pure marine salt by the rays of the sun alone, without the aid of artificial heat. The Rev. Dr. James Freeman, in 1802, wrote a quite full account of Mr. Sears's experiments, derived partly from data furnished by the latter. It appears that as early as 1776, "this ingenious seaman constructed a vat a hundred feet long and ten feet wide. Rafters were fixed over it, and shutters were contrived to move up and down, that the vat

might be covered when it rained and exposed to the heat of the sun in fair weather. By this simple invention the rain was excluded, the water in the vat was gradually exhaled, and at length, to his inexpressible joy, Capt. Sears perceived the salt beginning to crystallize. His works, however, were leaky, and he had such bad success in his operations the first year that he was unable to obtain more than eight bushels of salt. He was exposed besides to the ridicule of his neighbors, who scoffed at his invention, styling it 'Sears's Folly.'

"Capt. Sears persevered. The second year the works were made tight; and thirty bushels of salt were obtained. In this and the third year the salt water was poured into the vat from buckets; a tedious and painful operation.

"In the fourth year a pump was introduced; it was worked by hand, which was still great labor. This method of conveying salt water into the vat continued to be practised till the year 1785, when at the suggestion of Major Nathaniel Freeman of Harwich, who had seen at a distance a similar construction, Capt. Sears contrived a pump to be worked by the wind. By this lucky invention the labor was greatly abridged."

Covers to move on shives, that is, rollers or small wheels, such as are contained in the blocks of ships, were invented by Mr. Reuben Sears, a carpenter of Harwich, in 1793. These covers are shaped like the roof of a barn, or what is commonly styled a gable roof. The shive, which is placed under the cover, rolls over a narrow piece of plank fixed across the vat, and the motion is farther facilitated by shives moving on each side of the same slip of plank horizontally, the first mentioned shive moving perpendicularly. When the cover is drawn off, which can be done without a great exertion of strength, it rests on a frame placed by the side of the vat.

In 1798, Mr. Hattil Kelley of Dennis contrived another mode of constructing the vats and moving the covers. "By Mr. Sears they are placed in a string, or direct line; but by Mr. Kelley they are placed like the squares of a chess-board. Two black squares will represent the first and second vats. At the point where their angles touch is fixed a crane, consisting of a perpendicular beam, supporting a horizontal beam. From each half of the last beam is suspended a cover shaped like a hipped roof; that is, a roof

composed of four triangles, rising from each of the four sides, and meeting in a point at the top. The third vat will be represented by the white square, the angle of which touches it. At this point is fixed a second crane; and so the vats and cranes are continued to any extent the proprietor chooses. By these cranes the covers are moved with great ease. It is a subject of dispute which is the best invention, Sears's or Kelley's; experience only can decide that point."

Capt. Sears was greatly assisted in the invention and improvement of the works by Capt. William Crowell, Capt. Christopher Crowell and Capt. Edward Sears of Dennis. These persons resigning to him their right and title to the invention, he applied to the national government for a patent, which he obtained in 1799.

"Such is the account which Capt. Sears himself gives. It is alleged by several persons, that he has not made a new discovery and consequently has no right to a patent. But whatever may be thought of Capt. Sears's merit as an inventor, there can be no dispute that he is entitled to applause for first introducing an important manufacture, by which he has contributed greatly to the prosperity of the village in which he resides, and to that of the country at large."

Incidental to this industry the manufacture of the Glauber-salts, once greatly esteemed in medical practice, sprang up and became quite an important adjunct of this business. This product was effected by boiling, and was considered of an excellent quality.

The value and extent of the salt business was for many years of great importance, to the county of Barnstable particularly. In 1801 there were 121,313 feet of works in the county, of which 50,430 were in Dennis and Yarmouth; these works being calculated to manufacture about 44,000

bushels of salt. The capital invested in the business, in the year 1808, was nearly half a million of dollars. In 1830, about 600,000 bushels were manufactured by this process in Massachusetts alone, and a still larger quantity in Maine. In 1832, the county of Barnstable had 1,425,500 feet of vats, producing 358,250 bushels, but in 1834, the business was checked in consequence of the reduction of the duty. The policy of the general government was not wholly consistent or friendly in its aspect towards this industry; sometimes encouraging it by placing a high duty on imported salt, and at other times reducing the impost to a low figure. The bounty offered by the state in the infancy of the business was afterwards withdrawn, the profits being found to be larger than that of other local industries. The development of the salt springs in New York and other places also tended to make the business less important and profitable, and for the last twenty-five years no new works have been erected, those still existing at that time being kept up by repairs, and operated with moderate success; but at the time of writing this narrative (1884) hardly any works are standing as monuments of a once flourishing industry.*

One by one, as the century closed, the leading actors of the Revolutionary period began to fall by the wayside. In 1799, Daniel Davis departed this life, at the age of 85 years, 6 months. He was an ardent and uncompromising Whig, and was closely identified with the espousers of the patriot cause in the province. He was later in life chief justice of the court of Common Pleas, judge of Probate, and held other prominent positions.

In 1800, Aug. 22, the county sustained a severe loss in the death of Hon. Nathaniel Freeman, Jr., representative in

*Old Yarmouth.

Congress from this district, at the early age of 34 years. He was a classmate at Harvard of John Quincy Adams, and divided the honors of the class with Mr. Adams in the graduation exercises. He embraced the profession of the law, as his pursuit in life. At the age of 30 years, upon the retirement of Hon. Shearsjashub Bourne, he was chosen that gentleman's successor in Congress, having previously filled with honor for several years the position of brigade-major on the staff of his father.

In 1801, David Thacher of Yarmouth departed this life. He was 27 years in the house of representatives, and one year in the senate from Barnstable county, and judge of the court of Common Pleas, and a member of the convention to form a state constitution, and of that to ratify the federal constitution. He was a leading character of the town during the Revolutionary War, his judgment being sound, and his sympathies on the side of his oppressed countrymen, though far from being an extremist in his political opinions; his cautious temperament causing him at times to excite the distrust of the more ardent and impetuous patriots.

A memorable shipwreck occurred near Peaked Hill bars, off Provincetown, in 1802. Three Salem ships, the Ulysses, Brutus and Volutia, sailed together from Salem on a beautiful day in February, with valuable cargoes on board, one of them bound for Leghorn, the other two for Bordeaux. They encountered a sudden snow storm before reaching the Cape, and the three were wrecked near one another on those treacherous bars, then as now the terror of sailors. The Brutus lost all but five of its crew, some twenty men; the other two crews escaped with their lives. As an illustration of the facilities for the spread of intelligence in those days, it is stated that the account of those wrecks, which occurred February 22, did not reach Salem until

March 4, following, and it was not until the 8th of March that full intelligence was received there.

In 1804, a canal from Town Cove to Boat Meadow River, nearly on the boundary line between Orleans and Eastham, was dug by a company deriving its powers from the two towns, but the project did not prove a success. The legislature was petitioned for authority to create a lottery in aid of the project, but no action was taken in that direction. The route chosen was over the region through which Capt. Southack sailed in 1718, when going to the scene of pirate Bellamy's shipwreck.

By the incorporation of Sandwich Academy, in 1804, was established an institution of learning in which the entire county was interested, both in its patronage and direction. A grant of one half-township of six miles square, of unappropriated land in the district of Maine, was made by the legislature for the use of such academy in some town of the county, on condition that $3000 be actually raised and secured from other sources for the endowment of the same. There was great rivalry among the towns and villages of the Cape to secure the location of the institution within their limits, but the citizens of Sandwich offered the most substantial inducements,—the chief of them being the pre-eminent qualifications of the proposed principal, Rev. Jonathan Burr—and the academy was located there. The trustees named in the act of incorporation were eighteen in number, eight from Sandwich and ten from other towns, viz: Rev. Jonathan Burr, Hon. Nathaniel Freeman, Dr. Jonathan Leonard, Wendall Davis, Esq., James Freeman, Esq., Mr. Wm. Fessenden, Mr. Stephen Bassett, Mr. Wm. Bodfish, Sandwich; Rev. Henry Lincoln, Thomas Jones, Esq., Falmouth; Thomas Thacher, Esq., Yarmouth; Rev. Levi Whitman, Wellfleet; Rev. Oakes Shaw, David Scudder,

Esq., Barnstable; Rev. John Simpkins, Brewster; Richard Sears, Esq., Chatham; Rev. Nathan Stone, Dennis; Rev. Jude Damon, Truro. Hon. Nathaniel Freeman was president, and Mr. Wm. Fessenden, treasurer, of the corporation for many years. For some time this academy was a most prosperous and useful educational instrumentality. But sectarian differences among the managers at last operated to undermine the usefulness of the institution, so that finally its management fell into control wholly local and sectarian. The building and lot which it occupied have recently been sold, and a new location sought, to which whatever remains of the academy interest has been transferred in connection with the Sandwich High school.

Sept. 24, 1807, died in Dartmouth, Mass., Rev. Samuel West, D. D. He was born in Yarmouth, March 3, 1730, in the southeasterly part of the town, near Swan Pond. His father was Sackfield West, a man of humble fortunes, but of strong mind, who often used to exhort the Indians in their meeting-house near by. Samuel was early employed in the pursuit of husbandry, but discerning men discovering his abilities, the means of education were procured for him, and he graduated from Harvard College in 1754. "He became noted for his metaphysical and controversial talents, and was a thorough critic in Greek and Hebrew." He was a zealous Whig during the Revolution, and wrote much of a political character, and deciphered the letter of Dr. Church, to the British ministry, which disclosed that noted person's treason and duplicity. He was a member of the convention which formed the constitution of Massachusetts, and also of that which ratified the constitution of the United States. He was an honorary member of the Academy of Sciences at Philadelphia and at Boston. "He was," says Dr. Alden, "as remarkable for his mental powers as Dr.

Samuel Johnson, the great biographer and moralist. He was supposed to have much resembled him in personal appearance, and with the same literary advantages would, unquestionably, have equalled him for reputation in the learned world." His manners were very uncouth, and many anecdotes are told of his conduct while engrossed in thought or study, rendering him unconscious of the lapse of time and oblivious of everything around him. On one occasion he harnessed his horse to go to church, and, falling into a reverie, took the steed by the bridle and led it all the way there. He preached with great vigor and power, and without the aid of notes. The origin of the family is unknown. Dr. West had a brother, who was undistinguished.*

The commercial and maritime interests of the country, in which the people of the Cape had borne so prominent a part, were greatly imperilled by European complications. Soon after the Revolutionary War the commerce of the United States entered upon a career of rapid expansion and prosperity, which continued for nearly twenty years. Maintaining a strict neutrality with the belligerents of Europe, our people were enabled to enjoy the rich harvest derived from the carrying trade of the nations engaged in war. The people of the Cape were large sharers in this prosperity, and many ample fortunes were made by our enterprising shipmasters, who kept up the old-time reputation of their class for energy and perseverance. It was claimed, and the claim has not to the knowledge of the writer been disputed, that the sloop "Stork," of Boston, Capt. Ebenezer Sears, of Yarmouth, was the first craft that carried the American flag east of the Cape of Good Hope. The sloop of those days was not necessarily the small craft

*Old Yarmouth.

which passes under that classification at the present day, but was sometimes square-rigged, with standing royal yard, and capable of spreading large quantity of canvas. It was frequently of two or three hundred tons capacity, which in those days was regarded as a large vessel. There were a number of these crafts sailing from Boston at the beginning of the century, some of which were commanded by Barnstable county men.

In the opposite direction, during the year 1792, Capt. John Kenrick, in the private armed vessel, Columbia Redivivia, having for a tender the sloop Lady Washington, was the first American commander who circumnavigated the globe. It was claimed for him that "he discovered the Columbia River, and named it for his ship; sailed into Nootka Sound, rigged his tender into a brig, gave the ship in charge of his first lieutenant, Robert Gray, ordered him to enter the Columbia, and himself, in his little brig, returned via the East Indies and the Cape of Good Hope." Capt. Gray has been awarded the credit of the discovery of the Columbia River,* but it is indisputable that it was Capt. Kenrick's vessel, by his orders, which first entered the river, while the captain took his adventurous course towards home.

Not long after this time, while Capt. Kenrick was exploring seas unknown to his countrymen, another Cape shipmaster, Capt. Elijah Cobb, of Brewster, was invoking justice of the revolutionary government of France. His vessel had been seized and its cargo appropriated by the French authorities, at Brest, and, after a struggle, he had extracted from the French officials a promise of reparation, but no progress had been made in securing its performance. It was represented to him that the papers in the case had been sent to Paris; and, after securing certified copies thereof, to

*Am. Cyclopædia, vol. V.

Paris he went to further prosecute his suit for redress. He arrived in that city in the midst of the bloodiest period of that fearful drama, the recital of which, even now, sends a thrill of horror through the civilized world. He was an eye-witness to the execution of hundreds of persons by the guillotine, of men, women, priests, civilians, of all ages and conditions of life. These scenes did not deter him from his purpose. He found the French officials to be tricky and evasive, and finally they pretended to have lost his papers and could not proceed. In this emergency he had bethought him of appealing to Robespierre himself, who, though hard-hearted and cruel, was not destitute of a sense of justice and public honor. In response to an appeal by letter from Capt. Cobb, representing himself as an American citizen, who had been captured by a French frigate on the high seas, and who desired an interview on business, he received reply, of which the following is a translation:

"I will grant Citizen Cobb an interview tomorrow at ten a. m. ROBESPIERRE."

Capt. Cobb called at the appointed time. Robespierre's demeanor on this occasion was a model of courtesy and decorum, and he little resembled the monster he is generally pictured in contemporary history. Like Byron's pirate,

> "He was the mildest mannered man,
> That ever scuttled ship or cut a throat."

He heard Capt. Cobb to the end, then conversed with him in very good English, and at the close told him to call at the office in Rue St. Honorie, tell them who sent him there, and direct them, at the risk of his displeasure, to adjust the business upon which he called. Capt. Cobb did so, and at once had his claim allowed by the obsequious official. Before Capt. Cobb left Paris he witnessed the execution on

the guillotine of Robespierre himself.* Capt. Cobb was destined to experience other adventures of a thrilling nature before returning home. He was some time a resident at Hamburg, and during the succeeding war was captured and imprisoned by a British frigate. The shipmaster in those days, beside being a thorough navigator, was required, before the advent of magnetic telegraphs, telephones and fast mails, to exercise the functions of supercargo and merchant, being so remote from his owners and employers that it was necessary to rely upon his own judgment and discretion. These exigencies developed first-class ability in many instances, and it was during this period that the business reputation and sagacity of Cape shipmasters was at the highest point.

Among the disadvantages attending the prosecution of foreign commerce by Americans, was the inadequacy of our naval forces in distant waters. The United States was for many years unable to claim respect for the flag or exact protection for those sailing under it. Even in the Barbary States, a tribute was required and enforced, and was submitted to for many years, as the price of exemption from capture. It seems strange at this day to record the fact, that in some of the churches of the Cape, in the early part of this century, it was not an unusual occurrence to take up a contribution of ransom money for captured American sailors, or for tribute for those who were voyaging to the Mediterranean and were liable to be overhauled by Algerine cruisers. It was not until the war of 1812–15 had demonstrated our naval strength, that the United States government was enabled to send Commodore Decatur to Algiers, who effectually chastised these piratical collectors of tribute and put an end to their extortions.

*Capt. Cobb's Autobiography, in Yarmouth Register, May, 1878.

In the complications which arose in Europe in the early part of the nineteenth century, it was difficult for the United States to avoid misunderstandings with two jealous and unreasonable rivals like England and France. Against England, especially, complaints were made of spoliations and insults. The British Orders in Council, on one hand, and the French Berlin and Milan decrees on the other, came near extinguishing our commerce. Then, after other ineffectual measures, came the Embargo act in 1807, prohibiting intercourse with all foreign countries, thus crushing out the remaining foreign trade which had escaped annihilation at the hands of the two great European contestants. It excited the fiercest political discussion between the Federalists and Republicans (or Democrats, as they were derisively called by their opponents, and began to call themselves.) The measure brought ruin to many with but little good, however well meant. It was believed in the New England states to be aimed directly at their prosperity. They were certainly the greatest sufferers. Their fishing vessels were given up, and abandoned crafts of all kinds lay unused at the wharves. Their crews, out of employment and without the means of livelihood, swelled the volume of public discontent. Petitions from all parts of the county were sent to the President, to Congress and to the state legislature, deprecating the embargo, setting forth its disastrous effects and praying for relief. The restiveness of the people was not restrained within the strict limits of their legal rights. A vessel belonging to Brewster, which had been fitted out to run the embargo, was captured off the Cape, by a sloop-of-war, and sent to Provincetown harbor. The captain communicated with the owners, a packet was manned and the prize was boarded, retaken, and sailed for Surinam. The U. S. marshal tried to investigate the affair,

but was received in an unfriendly manner, and his efforts proved ineffectual.

All these clamors and indications of popular disapprobation with the results of the embargo were unavailing. Mr. Jefferson continued to justify the measure. He had the power, in certain contingencies, to suspend the act, but refused to exercise it. The discontent increased. John Quincy Adams, who, as a senator from Massachusetts, had sustained the president in this measure, and who, in consequence, was compelled to resign his position, his course being disapproved by the legislature, at length informed the president that this policy could be endured no longer, and just before Mr. Jefferson retired from office, the Embargo gave way to the Non-intercourse act, by which trade and commerce with England and France was interdicted. But little amelioration of the condition of affairs resulted from this measure. Other causes of irritation were constantly arising. The detention and search of American vessels and the impressment of American seamen on board of British men-of-war were of frequent occurrence, and the British government studiously refused reparation or assurances of discontinuance of the injurious practice. It was soon apparent that the alternative was either submission or war. The prospect, in any view, was most deplorable.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS, 1784–1812.

1784. Aug. 8, Rev. Abram Williams of Sandwich died.—Mr. Cornelius Crocker of Barnstable, tavern keeper, died, aged 80.

1785. Rev. Levi Whitman settled over the Wellfleet society.—An act passed the legislature to protect Pocha beach, in Eastham.

1786. An act passed the legislature for the protection of Province-

town harbor.—Rev. Caleb Upham of Truro died, and was succeeded by Rev. Jude Damon.

1787. Rev. Jonathan Burr succeeded Mr. Williams in Sandwich.—Mr. Elisha Tupper, missionary to the Indians, died in Pocasset, aged 80.—Dr. Abner Hersey died in Barnstable.

1788. Col. Enoch Hallet of Yarmouth, sheriff of the county, died.——Hon. Nymphas Marston of Barnstable died.—Rev. Enoch Eldredge ordained pastor of First Baptist church in Barnstable (Hyannis).

1789. Rev. Josiah Mann of Falmouth died, and Rev. Henry Lincoln succeeded him.—Barnstable offered a reward of $50 to any one who would kill the wolf that infested the vicinity, if killed in town; if elsewhere, $25.

1790. Sandwich offered a reward of $30 to any one who would kill the wolf, catamount or tiger that infested this and the neighboring towns; and it was ordered, that if, in the opinion of the committee, a general muster of the inhabitants be necessary, every able-bodied man be called upon to hunt him.

1791. Capt. Joshua Gray, of Revolutionary fame, died in Yarmouth.—Rev. Isaiah Dunster, pastor of North precinct of Harwich, died, and was succeeded by Rev. John Simpkins.

1792. The wolf continuing its ravages, a general muster of the inhabitants of Sandwich was ordered for its destruction.—Rev. Nathan Underwood was settled over the Second precinct of Harwich.

1794. Rev. Edward Cheever of Eastham died.

1797. Ineffectual attempt was made to divide the town of Sandwich, and make a separate township of Monument and Pocasset.

1798. Job Chase and others were incorporated, under the name of The Baptist Religious Society of Harwich.

1800. The death of Gen. Washington was observed in Orleans by a sermon preached by Rev. Mr. Bascom, which was afterwards published.

1802. Wellfleet voted "to repair the Indians' house in the north part of the town so as to make it comfortable."—A Methodist church, consisting of three persons, was organized in Wellfleet.—Capt. David Wood of Falmouth and four men died of yellow fever at Cape Francois, Aug. 10.

1804. Capt. Joshua Crowell of Falmouth and four men were lost in Boston bay, by the capsizing of their vessel.

1807. Rev. Oakes Shaw, pastor of West Barnstable church, died Feb. 11th, in the 47th year of his ministry.—Rev. Gideon Hawley of Mashpee died, Oct. 3.—Rev. Jonathan Bascom, pastor of Orleans church, died March 8, after a ministry of 35 years.

1809. Methodist Episcopal church gathered in Falmouth through the instrumentality of Rev. Erastus Otis.—Holmes Allen, councillor at law, died in Barnstable.

1810. Gen. Joseph Otis, of Barnstable, died Sept. 23, aged 82.—It is

recorded that a bass viol was purchased this year for the choir in Orleans meeting-house, the first instrument of music ever employed there.—Brewster voted to remonstrate against the appointment of Edward O'Brien as postmaster of that town, "he being a foreigner, and, in the opinion of the inhabitants, an alien."

1811. Leave was granted to Samuel Wing and others of Sandwich "to erect a dam and works of a cotton factory on the stream between the upper and lower ponds, at a place near Wolf-trap Neck, so-called." —Hon. Ebenezer Bacon of Barnstable died.—Rev. James Barnaby was called to the pastorate of the Baptist church in West Harwich.

CHAPTER XIV.

WAR OF 1812-15.

The Administration forced to declare War—Sentiment of this County defined—Congressman Green superseded by Hon. John Reed—Votes for Governor in 1813 and 1814—"County Congress" endorse the administration—History set right—Bombardment of Falmouth, by Brig Nimrod—British Privateer "Retaliation" captured by Capt. Weston Jenkins and companions—Operations in Hyannis Harbor—Cape Vessels captured in Cape Cod Bay—Communication with New York via Buzzard's Bay—Adventurous trip to Boston of Capts. Mayo and Knowles—Tribute demanded of Eastham, Brewster and Orleans—Orleans refused, and resisted with force—Demonstration upon Barnstable—Cape men in the naval forces and privateers—Peace restored.

WAR with Great Britain now became inevitable. The government of that country adhered tenaciously to its policy relating to neutrals, and American vessels continued to be seized by British cruisers and condemned in British admiralty courts. Early in 1812, Congress passed an act laying an embargo for ninety days on all vessels within the United States. This was well understood to be preparatory to a declaration of hostilities, an event for which the country was unprepared, for which the government had no desire, but which was forced upon the reluctant Madison by the younger element of his supporters, led by Clay, Calhoun and Lowndes. The formal declaration was made June 18, of that year. It is well understood that the war party made the President's

acquiesence in their policy the condition of their support for his re-election. The Federalist leaders, especially those of New England in general, and Massachusetts in particular, had all along been most bitter in their denunciations of what was styled by them, "the timid and yielding policy of Mr. Madison's administration;" they had demanded a more determined and aggressive attitude; but when war was declared, they evinced a bitter hostility to a measure which they knew would prostrate the commercial interests of the nation, and bring temporary disaster upon their peculiar industries. They were partly in the right, and partly in the wrong, in their position. Appreciating the national weakness and deficiencies, our government had hesitated at the taking of strong grounds; but goaded by constant and continued insults and outrages by Great Britain, had at length been led to assume a more aggressive position. The declaration was passed in the house, by a vote of 74 to 49, and in the senate by 19 to 13, and was signed by the President June 18, 1812. The reasons assigned in this manifesto were: the impressment of American seamen by the commanders of British ships of war; the British doctrine and system of blockade; the orders in council; and lastly, various depredations committed by British subjects on the commerce of the United States. Five days later the British government revoked its orders in council, a step which, had it been taken a little before, would doubtless have prevented hostilities at that time; but we had no telegraphic cables, and war had begun before the intelligence of this change of policy could reach this country.

If ever a war was justifiable, that of 1812-15 most undeniably was, whatever criticism may fairly be made upon the policy which preceded it. There probably would never have been an adequate acknowledgement of our commercial

rights and of the respect due our flag, until an assertion by force of our position as one of the nations of the earth. It would doubtless have been better had we never resorted to such palliatives as non-intercourse and embargoes, by which our vitality was sapped and our resources exhausted, without any compensating advantages. The longer the final decision was put off, the weaker was our position, and the war party reasoned rightly, that as Great Britain was determined to yield nothing unless under compulsion, the sooner the struggle came, the better for the country.

The maritime interests of New England were for the time destroyed. Our vessels lay rotting at the wharves, and our men were out of employment. A powerful opposition party at once sprang up, composed of those whose business had been prostrated, and others who felt that the government had managed our relations with Great Britain with a lack of discretion, and had rushed finally into a war which we were unprepared to wage with prospect of success.

Beyond the local and political contests, the earlier months of the war in this portion of New England were uneventful. Great Britain was at that time engaged in her tremendous struggle with Napoleon, and gave not much attention or thought to the American war. This afforded time, which was not very well improved, to put our seacoast in a state of defence. The operations of the enemy were not directed to our waters until the following year, when the whole coast of the United States was declared in a state of blockade, with the exception of the federal states of New England, a distinction not growing out of any understanding or overtures proceeding from them, but obviously made with the view on the part of the British government of widening the breach between them and the portion of the country most favorable to the war. It was a piece of strategy

which probably produced but little effect. The people of New England were loyal to their country, however antagonistic to the policy of the government. Having but slight participation in the events of the first years of the war, and feeling keenly its deprivations and disasters to their business interests, the unwonted number of her citizens who were at home participated more than was usual in public affairs, and the expressions of their discontent were frequent and vehement. The citizens of Yarmouth, July 8, 1812, drafted a memorial to the President, and appointed a committee to correspond with other sections of the county, "to consult for the general good and safety." Chatham expressed its opposition to the war in a memorial to the President, in which was expressed the "abhorrence of the people to any alliance with France." Other towns, though making no formal avowal of their sentiments, were lukewarm, if not hostile, in seconding the movements of the government.

The most bitter denunciations of the administration policy came from the commercial class. Our representative in Congress, Hon. Isaiah L. Green, who had voted for the declaration, doing so, as he said at the time, with a full consciousness that he was thereby imperilling his seat in the national legislature, was obliged to withdraw from Congress and give place to an opponent of the administration, Hon. John Reed succeeding to the position. Partisan rancor and personal hostility were carried to a great extreme, and the citizens of this county formed no exception to this condition. Perhaps the most correct estimate of the political sentiments of the people can be gained by a record of the votes cast for the state officers in the spring of 1813, after the declaration of war, and on the succeeding year. By this table it will be learned what were the political proclivities of each of the towns. The persons voted for in 1813 were

Caleb Strong, the Federalist, anti-war candidate, and Joseph B. Varnum, administration, war candidate. The next year, Gov. Strong had for his opponent Mr. Dexter, also an upholder of the war:

	1814.		1813.	
	Strong.	Dexter.	Strong.	Varnum.
Provincetown,	88	59	55	12
Chatham,	114	29	95	29
Harwich,	104	49	115	70
Dennis,	265	26	245	23
Barnstable,	176	261	168	240
Falmouth,	80	150	74	170
Sandwich,	152	180	144	157
Yarmouth,	245	23	265	23
Orleans,	21	101	41	103
Eastham,	53	31	73	18
Truro,	30	31	42	30
Wellfleet,	52	18	53	17
Brewster,	127	16	140	14
	1507	974	1510	906

The foregoing figures make it apparent that there were here a considerable number of men of standing and influence who upheld the national government, and approved its policy, both in declaring war and in the method of conducting hostilities. Delegates to a county congress assembled in the summer of 1813; though not an official body, it voiced the sentiments of the minority. They resolved that "It becomes us, in imitation of the patriots of the Revolution, to unite in the common cause of the country, patiently bearing every evil, and cheerfully submitting to those privations which are necessarily incident to a state of war. We consider the war in which we are engaged as just, necessary and unavoidable, and we will support the same with our lives and

fortunes." Also, "That the Hon. Isaiah L. Green, our congressional representative, has done nobly, and deserves well of his country." "That although the present chief magistrate of this commonwealth is not the man of our choice, yet his councils we will follow and his orders cheerfully obey, so far as are compatible with the spirit and meaning of the Federal Constitution;" a qualification sufficiently broad to cover all contingencies that might arise. They also put on record this national sentiment: "But our allegiance to the United States, and attachment to its constitution we hold paramount to every other duty;" also, "We have the fullest confidence in the wisdom, firmness and patriotism of the President and Congress, of whose doings we cordially approve." That this was campaign talk, not shared by a large majority of the voters, has already been made apparent. But it misled a local historian to assert that the national administration was sustained and that "the party which advocated war measures was politically ascendant in this county."* No statement could be more untrue or misleading, if the sentiments of the voting portion of the population afforded any indication of the opinions of the county. The undeniable facts, that Mr. Green was obliged to relinquish his seat in Congress to an anti-war candidate, and that Gov. Strong, a bitter opponent of Mr. Madison and the war, was sustained by an overwhelmning majority the two succeeding elections, indicate the trend of opinion and sentiment in this county in the period under review.

The earlier campaigns of the war were carried on languidly, and were, upon the whole, disastrous to the American cause upon the land. The gallant achievements of our navy alone relieved the operations of the year from

*Freeman's History of Cape Cod, vol. I, pages 597-8. Blake's Hist. of Cape Cod.

disaster and humiliation. So far as our seacoast towns were concerned, we were not subjected to alarms of hostile invasions, but the loss of employment to our people, the difficulty of obtaining the supplies for subsistence, and consequent distress and dissatisfaction were everywhere apparent.

In 1814, Great Britain, having been relieved for a time of the pressure of a continental war, by the subjugation and banishment of Napoleon Bonaparte, was enabled to turn her attention to affairs in America. A large fleet was sent over, and operations were actively inaugurated on the coast of Massachusetts, their place of rendezvous being in Provincetown harbor, whence they sent out their tenders and barges to the surrounding coasts. Every harbor and creek which was capable of the egress of sailing crafts was subject to a strict surveillance, and hostile demonstrations were made on the villages on the inside shores of the Cape. On the south shore, as in the Revolutionary war, armed vessels made threatening incursions upon the coast and caused considerable alarm. Early in January, 1814, three boats from the British vessel Albion attempted to land at Wood's Hole, but were driven off by a company of militia. It was reported that several of the invaders were killed or wounded.

Jan. 23, 1814, the town of Falmouth was excited by a demonstration by H. B. M. brig Nimrod. A demand had been made for several pieces of artillery, which had been employed to annoy the British cruisers, and the Nantucket packet sloop, which had been detained by the citizens, believing its crew to be either friendly to the enemy or neutral. The demand, so far as the cannon was concerned, was refused. Capt. Weston Jenkins, who was in command of the local militia, is reported to have tauntingly asked the

British commander to "come on and get them." A flag was then sent by the commander of the Nimrod, giving two hours in which to remove the women and children, at the end of which time the bombardment was to commence. A scene of confusion ensued, while the sick and non-combatants were removed to places of safety. In the meantime the neighboring militia came pouring into the town. About noon the cannonade commenced and continued until near nightfall, some guns being fired after dark. A demonstration of landing was made, but the determined look of the militia in the entrenchments deterred the enemy from the attempt. In the morning the brig sailed away, after firing a few shots at the militia at Nobsque Point. No casualties to life or limb were reported. The damage to buildings and salt works was considerable. Eight 32 lbs. balls were shot through one house.*

This repulse by no means released the town from anxiety and immunity from the incursions of the British cruisers. As in the Revolutionary War, thirty years before, they hovered on the coast and committed repeated acts of aggression upon the town. They were not, however, permitted to do so, without frequent evidence of the fact that the citizens were ready to wage an aggressive, as well as a defensive warfare. Oct., 1814, was signalized by a daring and successful exploit, by Falmouth men under the command of Capt. Weston Jenkins. The British privateer Retaliation, Capt. Porter, had been active in annoying the inhabitants of the town during the preceding months. Capt. Jenkins, who was in command of the military company of the town, called for volunteers to capture the annoying intruder. Thirty-two men offered their services. They

*The principal sufferers were Elijah Swift, Silas Jones, Thomas Bourne, Job Hatch, Rev. Henry Lincoln, Shubael Hatch, Jr., in damages to buildings and salt works.—[Boston Centinel, Feb. 2.

embarked on board of the little sloop "Two Friends," at Wood's Hole; being becalmed, they rowed to Tarpaulin Cove, where the privateer lay at anchor. Arrived within three-fourths of a mile of the Retaliation, its gun was fired, which Capt. Jenkins chose to consider as a signal to stop; and no sooner was anchor dropped than a boat put off from the privateer with the captain and five men. Capt. Jenkins's men, with two or three exceptions, kept out of sight until the boat was alongside and had made fast; then, at a signal previously agreed to, twenty men rose up and pointed their muskets into the boat, demanding a surrender, which was at once made. Then, putting twelve men into the privateer boat, they also got the sloop under way, boarded the privateer and captured her without resistance. They brought their prize into Falmouth, and its cargo, consisting principally of plunder, was landed there. The privateer had five guns, a crew of twelve men, and two American prisoners.

Hyannis harbor, the only eligible roadstead on the southerly shore of the Cape beside Wood's Hole, was the scene of considerable excitement during the year 1814. July 16, the shipping records report, "The privateer Yankee, from a cruise, arrived at Hyannis Wednesday, landed upwards of a hundred packages of dry goods, and would proceed on to Bristol."* Landing of goods was sometimes effected which did not find a record in the public prints. Cargoes of wine, spirits, and Southern products, which had run the blockade and had not been reported to the government officers, were several times seized by the revenue authorities, and condemned.†

The north, or bay shore of the Cape, was, as before

*Boston Centinel.
†Collector Green's Letter Book, in possession of Maj. S. B. Phinney.

remarked, strictly blockaded, the British fleet near Boston harbor having undisputed control of Provincetown harbor and its surrounding waters. Provincetown itself was nearly depopulated. All intercourse with Boston from the Cape was attended with extreme risk. Fishing and coasting vessels were closely watched and confined to their waters, where not unfrequently they were subject to attack and destruction from the enemy. During June, launches from the British ships captured in the bay the sloop Mariner, Nye, of Sandwich, for Boston; schs. Betsey, Nickerson; Nightingale, Atkins; Beauty, Holmes; and the Fly, all of Provincetown. They were liberated, after the captors had taken out their cargoes, fish and oil. They also captured and released sloop Experiment, of Truro, for Sandwich from Boston. The sch. Two Friends, of Provincetown, was taken off Gloucester by British privateer Shannon, and sent to Nova Scotia. The sch. Victory, of Yarmouth, Capt. Timothy Hallet, was captured while on a fishing voyage, by H. B. M. Frigate Leander. Capt. Hallet, who was held a prisoner on board the Victory, afterwards saved the frigate from shipwreck, by warning the sailing master of his dangerous proximity to the shoals; and he received therefor an order on the governor at Halifax for his vessel, and a safe conduct to his home for vessel and crew.*

Under the date of June 2d, 1814, is the following: Arrived at Hyannis, sch. Kutuzoff, Capt. Alexander, 14 days from Savannah, with a full load of cotton and rice. It was chased by an English privateer schooner, which fired several shots at its adversary. The Kutuzoff was run ashore, and the cargo immediately landed. A four-pounder belonging to the prize-ship London Packet was on the beach, and about 100 militia collected to repel the enemy

*Old Yarmouth.

had he attempted to land. The privateer sent one of its boats with combustibles and set fire to the prize ship, but it was extinguished without material injury.*

During that time and until the close of the war, a favorite mode of communication with the cities was by means of boats, and Boston harbor was so thoroughly blockaded, that intercourse by water was more frequent with New York than with the former city. Watching their opportunity, large fleets of whaleboats would sail to North Sandwich, to be carted thence across Buzzard's Bay from that point of departure, running near the shores as occasion required, until they reached the port of their destination. The exports were generally dried fish, or salted mackerel, and sometimes salt, which were bartered for flour and other necessaries of life. One person, at least, is known to have exchanged a cargo, at the rate of a bushel of salt for a barrel of flour. Men who had been commanders of first-class ships sometimes engaged in this business.

In the summer of 1814, Capt. Matthew H. Mayo and Capt. Winslow L. Knowles left Eastham in a whaleboat loaded with rye, and arrived safely in Boston. Purchasing articles for domestic consumption and exchanging their boat for one somewhat larger, they started on their homeward journey. When near the Gurnet they discovered a pink-stern schooner at anchor, with five men on deck apparently fishing. Suddenly a gun was discharged, and they not stopping, another was also fired, the shot falling near them, when they hove to, and the schooner came up to their boat, Capt. Mayo in the meantime throwing overboard his valuable glass, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. They were taken on board of the schooner and conveyed to the British man-of-war Spencer, where they were kept

*Boston Centinel.

three days. Capt. Knowles was then permitted to go to Boston to obtain $300, the price agreed upon for their ransom, but was advised to give up the scheme. At the end of seven days, Capt. Mayo was placed on the schooner which captured him, as a pilot, with the British officers and twenty men and ample armament, with orders to cruise in the bay. They were soon after overtaken by a severe northwest wind, and Capt. Mayo advised them to take shelter under Billingsgate Point, but when they acceded, he purposely anchored in bad holding ground. He went forward unobserved, and with his pen-knife, so cut the cable, that it soon parted; then, by his advice, they attempted to reach a harbor ten miles to the leeward. He had previously picked the lock of the first officer's writing-desk, and abstracted a pair of pistols, which he secreted under his jacket. The schooner soon grounded on Eastham flats, and the officers became suspicious; but Capt. Mayo assured them they had struck on the outward bar and would soon drift over; he advised them and the men to go below so that their numbers might not excite suspicion on shore. He gave the men a gimlet with which they tapped a cask of rum, and drank until they were intoxicated. The vessel soon began to heel over as the tide ebbed, and the officers, their suspicions being confirmed, ordered the men on deck for resistance, but they could not come. Capt. Mayo threw overboard all the arms that were on deck, drew his pistols and threatened to shoot any one who should advance. He then went on shore, gave information of his position, and the militia came and took possession of the vessel, cargo and crew, who were confined in a barn on shore; but they were soon allowed to escape, and, taking a boat, reached the frigate in the bay. The U. S. marshal took possession of the crew's arms and baggage, and the vessel was claimed

by parties in Duxbury, from whom it was captured, but the authorities awarded it to Capt. Mayo, who afterwards released it to the owners for $200. The British commander dispatched a barge to the shore with a demand for $200 for the prisoners' baggage and $1000 for desisting from an invasion of the town, threatening to land with sufficient force to burn the vessels, dwellings and salt works, if the demand were not complied with in twenty-four hours. The selectmen, as a committee of safety, visited the flag-ship, and upon their recommendation the town paid the $1200, taking a receipt with a written promise not to take or destroy the property of the town of Eastham during the war. This seems to have been a needless concession, as the forces were sufficient to repel the landing of the British and they would hardly have made an attempt. There was no thickly settled village, and the salt works were scattered over the town at some distance from the shore.

A demand was also made by the British commander upon the people of Brewster for a contribution of $4000 for immunity from invasion and destruction of property. A meeting was held on Sunday, Sept. 18, at which the subject was discussed, and committees appointed to consult with the other towns in the vicinity, and also to visit H. B. M. ship Spencer, and make the best terms possible with the commander. The meeting adjourned to the next day, when the committee reported. The adjoining towns had sufficient employment in attending to their own defence; and the British commander refused to abate a dollar of the $4000 demand, and they, therefore, felt obliged to give their security for the sum. The committee's report was accepted by a nearly unanimous vote, and measures taken to tax salt works, buildings of all descriptions, and vessels owned in town or frequenting or lying on the shores. The day before

the term of grace had expired the $4000 was paid, and a receipt given, by which the British commander guaranteed the safety of the salt works and the town "during the present war." Signed by Richard Raggett, Captain. The payment of the taxes for this contribution was in some cases resisted, and legislation had to be resorted to in order to legalize the proceedings. The inhabitants were severely criticised for their action in this matter, but contended that as the general government had left them in a defenceless condition, they were impelled to do the best they could to avert the destruction of the town.

A similar demand to that made upon the towns of Eastham and Brewster was also made upon Orleans, with the offer of a guarantee of safety and protection in case of compliance. The demand and proffer were immediately rejected. Attempts were made by the enemy during the fall to land, but they were as often driven back. About the middle of December, the British frigate Newcastle was ashore near Orleans. It was necessary to throw overboard a number of spars before the vessel was extricated from her dangerous position. These the people on shore destroyed. Dec. 19, a four-oared barge from the Newcastle entered Orleans harbor and took possession of sch. Betsey, and sloops Camel, Washington and Nancy. On board the former were placed a midshipman and nine men; two of the vessels being aground, they were set on fire, but the flames were extinguished by the inhabitants. The Betsey was got under way, and the midshipman being unacquainted with the coast put the only American on board in charge of the vessel, upon his promise to carry it to Provincetown; but he ran the craft ashore on Yarmouth beach, where it was recaptured by the inhabitants, and the crew made prisoners and sent to Salem. The Camel arrived in Provincetown,

several unsuccessful attempts being made to recapture it. A barge containing arms, with two men, drifted ashore in Orleans, and the men gave themselves up as prisoners.* During the operations the militia of the town repaired to "Rock Harbor," the scene of the events, in considerable force, and resisted the approach of the foe, in an engagement, in which one or more of the enemy were killed. This skirmish was styled the "Battle of Orleans," and sixty years afterwards the participants, or their surviving widows, obtained, under the act of Congress of March 3, 1855, and a subsequent statute, warrants of 160 acres of public lands, as a pension bounty, for their service in this affair.

Threatening demonstrations were, during the fall of 1814, made upon the town of Barnstable. The militia was called out and assistance sent for from the neighboring towns; several companies were under arms there two or three days, but the enemy did not make the attempt. The war party, or friends of the administration, complained that the state government was lukewarm and negligent of the safety of our people. Collector Green, who, for the loss of his seat in Congress in consequence of voting for a declaration of war, had been recognized by President Madison by an appointment as collector of customs at Barnstable, in his correspondence with Gen. Dearborn, complains of the action or non-action of the state authorities and suggests measures for defence and the procurement of arms.† He also addressed remonstrances on this point to the authorities in Washington, who were unable to furnish the facilities needed here. Capt. Simeon Kingman of Orleans also made an ineffectual effort to obtain arms and equipments of the state authorities.

*Boston Centinel, Dec. 28, 1814.
†Collector Green's Letter Book.

The lack of sympathy in the objects of the war, although it was professedly waged to vindicate the commercial and maritime rights of the nation, prevented organization for warlike enterprises in some of the towns, and embarrassed the efforts to that end in the others. Thus the war measures were languidly pursued, and the spirit, which actuated the fathers of the Revolution in resistance to the mother country, was not revived in the war of 1812-15. But there were exceptions to this rule. Among the descendants of the men of 1776-'83, and especially those who inherited the adventurous instincts of the contemporaries of Paul Jones and his associates, business considerations and political influences could not obliterate the old desire to meet Great Britain on the sea, where she had been most aggressive and defiant. The fishermen resorted to the privateers and some of them enlisted in the naval service. For years after the war, was sung the song commemorative of the valor of our tars, and of their aversion to British aggression, commencing:

"Ye Parliaments of England, ye Lords and commons, too,
Consider well what you're about and what you mean to do;
You're now at war with Yankees, I'm sure you'll rue the day,
You've roused the sons of liberty in North America."

The literary execution of these stanzas was hardly up to their patriotism, but the latter could not be safely challenged. Privateering, too, turned out a profitable business. Capt. Reuben Rich of Wellfleet, who, with two others, fitted out a vessel under a letter of marque, captured an East Indiaman the first day out; brought the prize to Boston, and realized $17,000 for his interest when ten days from port.* Four men from Brewster were in the brig Reindeer of Boston, Capt. Nathaniel Snow of Truro, commander. They fell in with a fleet of East Indiamen bound to England, but owing to the strength of the convoy did not attack. Subsequently

*Rich's Truro.

they captured six prizes, from which they took such part as they wished, and burned the others. Five men from Eastham were in privateer Brutus, Capt. Austin, from Boston. They, too, had a number of engagements and took several prizes.* Capt. Winslow L. Knowles of Eastham engaged in this service with pecuniary success. Some of the sailors of the Cape enlisted in the naval branch, in which they did good service. John Cook of Eastham was one of the crew of the flag-ship of Com. Perry in the battle of Lake Erie. Two Harwich men were of the crew of U. S. frigate Constitution, when it captured the British frigate Guerriere.

The restoration of peace to Europe led both the United States and Great Britain to desire a termination of war, which had almost wholly grown out of complications originating in the great conflict of arms beyond the Atlantic; and after protracted negotiations, a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, Dec. 24, 1815, on the part of the United States by Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, Jonathan Russell, James A. Bayard and Albert Gallatin. Singularly, nothing was said in the treaty about the impressment of seamen, the only remaining subject of contention; but the practice was ever after discontinued by the British commanders, in agreement with a tacit understanding with the British commissioners. Peace at almost any price, short of absolute surrender, was a welcome boon, and the results of the war, on the whole, were favorable to the development of the commercial and maritime interests, in which the people of this county were almost wholly engaged. The prisoners from Dartmoor and Halifax, of which the county had many, were released; those held by our authorities

*Pratt's Eastham. Their names were Sam'l Freeman, Jr., Capt. Nath'l Snow, Joseph Snow, Josiah Smith, Matthew H. Mayo.

were sent home; the great military establishments were discontinued; and the sailor, farmer, artisan and mechanic, no longer hampered in their pursuits by the presence of armed soldiery, hailed with gladness the welcome advent of Peace!

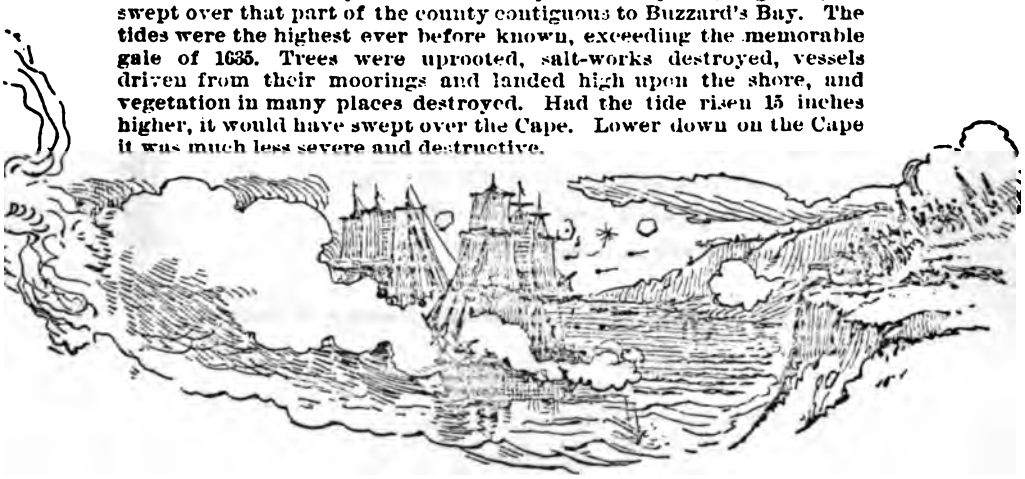
CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS, 1812–1815.

1812. Oct., Congregational society, Chatham, voted to enlarge the meeting-house and increase the number of pews.—An act passed by the Legislature to protect the lobster fishery of Provincetown.

1813. The First parish, Sandwich, in 1811, dismissed the pastor, Rev. Mr. Burr. The society, by a very large majority, voted for the dismissal, while the church sustained the pastor, by an equally large vote. The pastor brought action for his salary, and to decide whether the church or the society controlled the temporalities, i. e., the funds, records, etc. The Supreme court this year sustained the society, which retained possession of these. 159 persons thereupon seceded, and formed the Calvinistic Congregational society, retaining Mr. Burr for their pastor. Rev. Ezra S. Goodwin succeeded Mr. Burr as pastor of the First Congregational society. This case served as a test in subsequent actions growing out of the division between the Orthodox and Unitarian Congregational bodies in this state, which occurred about this time, the prevailing party in this case being of the latter faith.—March 21, Rev. Caleb Holmes of First parish, Dennis, died, aged 33.

1814. Rev. Joseph Haven invited to the First parish, Dennis.—Nobscussett Pier Co. in same town incorporated.

1815. Wellfleet Manufacturing Co. incorporated, with capital of $6,000, for the purpose of manufacturing cotton and woolen yarn.—Rev. Jotham Waterman was dismissed from East parish in Barnstable, and was succeeded by Rev. Oliver Hayward.—Sept. 23, a great gale swept over that part of the county contiguous to Buzzard's Bay. The tides were the highest ever before known, exceeding the memorable gale of 1635. Trees were uprooted, salt-works destroyed, vessels driven from their moorings and landed high upon the shore, and vegetation in many places destroyed. Had the tide risen 15 inches higher, it would have swept over the Cape. Lower down on the Cape it was much less severe and destructive.



CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE WAR OF 1812-15 TO SOUTHERN REBELLION.

Industrial Revival—Commercial Development—The Hersey Estate divided—Breakwater constructed at Hyannis—Burning of the County Building—New Court House—Second Centennial Celebration at Barnstable—Destructive Gale of 1841—Principal Legislative Enactments—Obituary notices—Local events.

FROM the termination of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain, the industrial activity of the people of Cape Cod again revived. Manufactures, during the continuance of the struggle, had been initiated and pursued with some degree of vigor and success, here as in other parts of the country, but before much capital or effort had been expended, the reverses which overtook this industry in all sections of the country deterred the people of the Cape from entering largely into the business. The genius of our citizens was so largely of a maritime cast, and their habit of looking to the sea and the counting-room as the theatre of their efforts and exertions, has been so ingrained in their natures, that it has for a century been found a difficult matter to divert their energies in the direction of manufactures and the arts. Commerce and the sailing of ships had their seasons of reverses and of successful achievement, but from the close of the war of 1812-15

to the opening of the Southern Rebellion, may be counted as the most memorable and satisfactory period in the industrial development of Barnstable county. The reputation of our ship-masters and merchants who were of Cape Cod origin in the chief cities stood at the head of the column in all business enterprises with which they were engaged. It is only necessary to recall such names as Sturges, Bacon, Sears, Brooks, Swift, Collins, Lombard, Hallett, Nickerson, Kenrick, Baker, Crocker, and many others, merchants and master-mariners of renown in Boston, New York and Baltimore, to emphasize this assertion. It may be justly said of them that they were the peers and rivals of the most enterprising in the land, for at least half a century, in which the United States and Great Britain contended for the mastery of the sea. This period may, therefore, be regarded as the most auspicious epoch in the industrial history of Cape Cod, though its annals, in accordance with the oft-quoted maxim, while prosperous, were uneventful and unexciting. The narrative of events, however, was not without many episodes of interest, and in the succeeding pages these transactions will be narrated in the order in which they occurred.

In 1816 the Congregational churches of the county petitioned for, and obtained permission from, the legislature, to sell their several and collective shares in the Hersey estate. This property lies about a mile eastward of the court house, and was devised by the will of Dr. Abner Hersey, in 1786, to the thirteen Congregational churches then existing in the county, for the dissemination of a certain character of religious literature. Dr. Hersey was a man of peculiar intellectual order. With much vigor of judgment, he was also a confirmed hypochondriac. He came to Barnstable from Hingham, as the successor of his

brother James, who died in 1770. He was not then considered, either by education or acquirements, particularly well fitted for the position of medical practitioner. But he had something as good as education, great native sense and sagacity and the power of application and acquisition of knowledge. He soon became the leading medical man on the Cape. He travelled on a regular circuit, and his times of coming found scores of sufferers awaiting his advent, with patrons at all the important centres and cross-roads in the region. His manners were brusque and imperious. At the close of his life he began to take precautions about his own health. He lived sparingly, and took much care to avoid exposure to damp and cold weather. He had leather curtains to his sulky, and in winter wore a leather cloak made of sixteen calf skins. His bed was covered with a large number of milled blankets, and on retiring he would turn down a considerable number, according to the weather. His garments were cut after a fashion of his own. He was capricious and uncertain in his moods, but a just and benevolent man, as well as a good manager in financial matters, having in his practice accumulated what was in his time regarded as a good fortune. In his will he bequeathed £500 to Harvard college for the endowment of a professorship of physic and surgery, and the remainder of his estate, after the decease of his wife, to the thirteen Congregational churches in the county, proportioned to the amount he had obtained in each of the parishes. The proportion reduced to 56ths was as follows:

East Precinct, Barnstable,	7-56ths
West " "	5-56ths
Falmouth,	4-56ths
Sandwich,	4-56ths
West, or First Precinct, Yarmouth,	6-56ths

East, or Second Precinct, Yarmouth,	4-56ths
North, or First, Harwich,	4-56ths
South, or Second, Harwich,	3-56ths
Church in Chatham,	4-56ths
" " South Eastham,	5-56ths
" " North Eastham,	3-56ths
" " Wellfleet,	3-56ths
" " Truro,	4-59ths

This estate, which was appraised at £3998: 9: 10, was to be managed by the deacons of the several churches, the income to be devoted to the purchase and dissemination of theological books, such as Dodridge's "Rise and Progress of Religion," Evans's sermons on "The Christian Temper," Groves's "Discourses on the Lord's Supper," and Dodridge's discourses on other subjects of a theological nature. The deacons used to hold an annual meeting at Mrs. Lydia Sturgis's tavern, in Barnstable, which seldom lasted less than two or three days, and as they lived well, and were not stinted in drinks and diet, in days when conviviality was no detriment to the character of a professor of religion, and the travelling expenses of the thirteen absorbed a considerable sum, the income of the estate after a few years left but little margin for the purchase of religious books. The legislature was therefore called upon, at the end of thirty years, to interpose, and an act was passed to authorize the sale of the property, and, after compromising with the heirs, to divide the remainder among the several churches; which was eventually accomplished.

Were these pages intended to epitomize the acts of general legislation, in which our own people were intimately interested and concerned, it would be expected that they would record the passage of the tariff acts and the Missouri Compromise measures, which agitated the public mind in

those days, here as in other parts of the country; but this does not seem to be called for in a narrative of local events. Two measures of importance to the Cape were, however, enacted by the legislature in 1821, the incorporation of the first banking institution in the county, at Falmouth, with a capital of $100,000; also of the Salt Manufacturing Co. of Billingsgate Island, capital $50,000.

By an act of Congress of 1826, an appropriation of $10,600 was made for the construction of a breakwater for the protection of shipping in Hyannis harbor, which has been followed by several additional appropriations since that time, for extensions and repairs. It has added much to the value of that harbor and the security of shipping.

The expiration of Mr. Monroe's administration and the accession of John Quincy Adams to power were the events of public importance in 1828, and in the political struggles which accompanied those events, Cape Cod citizens were actively identified. The establishment of a manufactory of flint glass, at Sandwich, this year, inaugurated by far the most important manufacturing industry which ever existed in the county.

The upper towns of the county, particularly Falmouth and Sandwich, were, in 1828, saddened by the loss of a vessel returning from Charleston, S. C., with some thirty young men, merchants and artisans, who had spent the winter season in prosecuting their business in South Carolina. This year was a peculiarly afflictive one for Truro, particularly, and to all the Cape towns, many of the young men going down beneath the treacherous waves.

The burning of the county house, at Barnstable, on the night of October 22, 1827, was an event which may rank as a calamity of the first importance to the business and family interests of the county. This building was occupied

for a registry of deeds, registry of probate, and an office for clerk of the courts. The fire was discovered from his chamber window, by Rev. Henry Hersey, the pastor of the East church and society, about 11 o'clock at night, and he immediately gave the alarm. Fortunately, several young gentlemen were at Crocker's hotel, enjoying a social evening, and immediately went to the spot, and by their efforts and those of Mr. Hersey succeeded in rescuing a large number of volumes from destruction. The court records were nearly all destroyed, together with 93 folios of records of deeds, numerous deeds left for record, and vols. 29, 44 and 46 of the probate records. All the rest of the probate records were rescued by the efforts of these young men.*

The legislature of the succeeding year did all that could be accomplished to rescue from oblivion the records destroyed by the fire in the county building. By the act of January 16, 1828, an extra term of the court of Sessions was authorized to take measures for the erection of a county building, in consequence of the late destruction by fire; and by another act, approved March 10, it was made the duty of the selectmen of each town to cause to be recorded all deeds for conveyance of real estate lying in their respective towns, which should be brought them for that purpose, and which bore date not more than forty years back and had been recorded in the registry of deeds of the county before the 3d of October preceding, the said books then to be deposited in the office of the register of deeds, and to be as effectual in law as the first records destroyed by fire. The time for receiving these conveyances was afterwards extended to the first day of May, 1829. The

*From Mr. Eben H. Eldridge, the last survivor of the party, the foregoing account was obtained by the writer. He gave as his associates, Messrs. Henry Hersey, Josiah Hinckley, Jonas Whitman, Eben Bacon, Mr. —— Parker of Boston, and two or three others.

result of this legislation was the collection of many important papers, embodied in thirteen large volumes.

In 1832-3, a new court house was erected in Barnstable, under the direction of the county commissioners, Messrs. Samuel P. Croswell, of Falmouth, Matthew Cobb of Barnstable and Obed Brooks of Harwich. It is built of granite and is fire proof. J. & J. Taylor of Plymouth were the contractors. It has twice since been enlarged. The old bell on the former court house was removed to the cupola of the new. It was cast, apparently, in Munich, and bears the inscription, "*Si Devs pron bvs qvis contra nos 1673.*" "If God be with us who can be against?" This bell has an interesting history. In 1702, Capt. Peter Adolphe was cast away upon our shore, his body recovered, and buried in Sandwich. His widow, in grateful acknowledgment of the act, presented the citizens this bell, which for thirty years hung in the tower of the old meeting-house. In 1756 the bell was sold to procure another and larger one, the county of Barnstable being the purchaser. It is not now used, being preserved as a relic in the office of the clerk of the courts.

Sept. 3, 1839, was celebrated, in Barnstable, under the most favorable auspices, the second centennial of the incorporation of the town. It was also made a county affair; everything combined to give it the absorbing interest and importance which it attained. There was an imposing parade of soldiery. Prof. John G. Palfrey delivered an address, which contained many things that have since often been quoted, as they were then admired and applauded. Hon. Nymphas Marston presided at the dinner, Hon. Henry Crocker was chief marshal, Gov. Edward Everett made one of his most eloquent and polished speeches, and Chief Justice Shaw, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Hon. William Sturgis and other natives of the town added to the interest of the occasion by

happy after-dinner efforts. Fire-works and a grand ball were the attractions of the evening.

An act was passed by the legislature of 1839, annexing part of Eastham to Orleans. By these successive divisions of territory, the old and once important town of Eastham has been gradually shorn of her former proportions, until she is now next to the smallest town of the county in respect to population.

The great gale and storm of Oct. 3 and 4, 1841, was one of the most memorable and appalling in its results ever experienced here. Its victims were chiefly the crews of vessels engaged in the fisheries. When the gale commenced there was a large fleet on Georges Bank. They made sail for the Cape, but the strongest canvas was torn to shreds. Some of the vessels succeeded in getting into the bay and running ashore on the beach. Others were driven on Nantucket shoals, and still others were foundered at sea. The scenes which followed were of the most heart-rending description. Fifty-seven lives were lost of citizens of Truro, 10 of Yarmouth, and 20 of Dennis.

That the period from 1830 to 1860 was one of great industrial energy and development for the county, not only upon the sea, but among the business men and enterprises on the land, is made evident by the number of legislative acts, incorporating or authorizing important fiscal institutions, and opening facilities for trade and commerce. These statutes show the evolution of business methods, from the primitive to the modern systems. Among these acts the most important and representative were: The Institution for Savings in Barnstable, incorporated January, 1829; Fishing Insurance Company of Provincetown; incorporation of Proprietors of Bass River Lower Bridge; authorizing the towns of Chatham and Orleans to open a passage through

Nauset beach in Chatham for the improvement of Chatham harbor, 1832; the Barnstable County Mutual Fire Insurance Company at Yarmouth, incorporated March 2, 1833; capital stock of Barnstable Bank in Yarmouth, increased the same year; Falmouth Academy incorporated March 7, 1835; Union Insurance Company, Provincetown, and Truro Breakwater Company, for the purpose of forming an artificial harbor, incorporated in 1835; Truro Academy, incorporated 1840; authorizing the Wharf and Harbor Company of Dennis to construct and maintain a breakwater and improve the harbor at Sesuit Creek; authority to construct a highway and bridges across Pamet, Hopkins's and East Harbor Creeks, in Truro, 1841; Marine Insurance Company in Chatham, 1842; Marine Insurance Company of Provincetown, incorporated; Barnstable County Agricultural Society, incorporated March 15, 1844; Equitable Marine Insurance Company, incorporated 1845; Cape Cod Branch Railroad, incorporated 1846, (name subsequently changed to the Cape Cod Railroad); Manomet Iron Company, Sandwich, incorporated 1847; Hyannis Packet Insurance Company, Sandwich Savings Bank, Truro Wharf and Breakwater Company, to be constructed near Pond Landing, Provincetown Marine Railway, incorporated 1847; capital of Barnstable Bank, in Yarmouth, again increased this year; the county commissioners authorized to lay out a highway and build a bridge across East Harbor, in Truro, from the end of Beach Point to Provincetown, 1849; Cape Cod Association, Boston, organized May 12; Seamen's Savings Bank, Provincetown, incorporated; permission granted to Cape Cod Branch Railroad Company to extend the road from Sandwich, Barnstable and Yarmouth to Hyannis, with increase of capital stock, 1851; Boston and Sandwich Glass Company, and Barnstable Bank granted

increase of capital, 1853; Provincetown Bank, incorporated 1854; Bank of Cape Cod, Harwich; Equitable Marine Insurance Company of Provincetown, Nantucket and Cape Cod Steamboat Company, Cape Cod Telegraph Company, incorporated 1855; Cape Cod Marine Telegraph Company, incorporated; further act providing for the construction by Truro and Provincetown of a bridge over East Harbor, 1856; the Monnamoit Insurance Company, of Chatham, incorporated, and capital of Cape Cod Bank, Harwich, increased, 1857. These are only the more general public acts affecting the business interests of the county, while the statutes relating to private interests would require many pages to recount.

During the period under review, a large number of distinguished citizens of the county who had performed eminent public service and filled positions of honor and trust in civil and military life, in the Revolutionary war, just preceding it, or during the war of 1812-15, paid the debt of nature.

Gen. Joseph Dimmick of Revolutionary fame died in Falmouth, Sept. 21, 1822, aged 88 years. He early enlisted in the service of his country, and served as lieutenant under Abercrombie, at Ticonderoga. His prowess and sagacity in the conflict with Great Britain have been set forth in the story of the Revolutionary days. In peace as well as in war, he was a good citizen, and a man of rectitude and high honor.

Hon. George Thacher, a native of this county, died April 6, 1824, at Biddeford, Me., having been born in Yarmouth, April 12, 1754. He was a descendant in the fourth generation of Anthony Thacher, one of the grantees of the town, and graduated from Harvard College in 1776. Having prepared himself for the practice of law, in the

GEORGE THACHER.

office of Shearjashub Bourne, Esq., of Barnstable, in 1782, he established himself in Biddeford, in the district of Maine. Chosen, before the establishment of the constitution, a delegate to Congress, he was also after the adoption chosen a representative, serving in that capacity until 1801. He took an active part in the business of that body, and was one of the keenest debaters and most influential workers in the house. His wit, sarcasm, and power of ridicule, which he had frequent occasion to exercise, brought him in collision with some of the leaders of the opposition. In 1801, he resigned his seat in Congress, to accept the position of judge of the Supreme Judicial court, where he remained until 1824. He was one of the chief ornaments of a tribunal, which numbers among its most conspicuous members, such lawyers as Parsons, Shaw, Parker, Morton, and others whose opinions are quoted and relied upon in all American judicial proceedings. Judge Thacher was also something more than a mere lawyer; he was a man of learning in other departments, and was particularly well versed in theological and polemical controversies, and his knowledge of history and the literature of the period, was surpassed by few of his contemporaries. His wit and humor often enlivened many of the dreary judicial proceedings in which he participated, and he sometimes took a very practical view of what was transpiring before him. On one occasion, Hon. Daniel Davis, as solicitor-general, was prosecuting a horse thief, before Judge Thacher, in the county of Kennebec. The case suggested a precedent to the keen-witted judge. When he was a boy, he and the solicitor-general lived in the adjoining towns of Yarmouth and Barnstable, and the day after the affair at Lexington and Concord, the militia of the two towns started off for Boston. The boys accompanied the soldiers, Davis acting as fifer,

until an order came for the troops to return home. In their retreat, tired of marching, the boys found an old horse by the way-side, mounted it and rode some miles, after which they abandoned the steed on the highway, to return to its home if it so willed. In the course of the trial the judge leaned over the bench and said, in an undertone, "Davy, that reminds me of the horse we stole in Barnstable." Judge Thacher remained on the bench until 1824, during which time his residence was in Newburyport. After retiring, he lived with his children a short period in Biddeford, until the time of his death.*

September 20, died in Sandwich, Gen. Nathaniel Freeman, who was born in Dennis (then a portion of Yarmouth), in 1741, and occupied a conspicuous position in the county during and after the Revolutionary war. He was a leading spirit among the patriots, and was honored at its close by many marks of public confidence, as has been detailed in appropriate connection.

November 13, 1828, Rev. Timothy Alden, of Yarmouth, departed this life at the ripe age of 92. He was born in Bridgewater, and was a direct descendant of John Alden, one of the Mayflower company. He was called to the pastorate of the First church in Yarmouth, in 1769. An ardent patriot during the Revolution, he suffered many privations during that period, cheerfully sharing the poverty and destitution of his flock. He was a good sermonizer, noted for his felicity in the selection of texts. He retained, to the last, the dress of the olden time. Mr. Freeman, in the History of Cape Cod, says: "We vividly recall the appearance of this venerable gentleman as we saw him last at the ordination of Rev. Mr. Hersey at Barnstable, in 1824, seated among the clergy and distinguished attendants,

*Old Yarmouth.

on the platform, his antique wig conspicuous, in small clothes and knee and shoe buckles, and three-cornered hat lying nearby—objects of interest to the young." He left four sons and three daughters, his eldest son being known as president of Alleghany College, at Meadville, Pa., and as the author of a collection of American epitaphs, a work of five volumes.

Hon. Wendell Davis of Sandwich, deceased Dec. 30, 1830. He was a native of Plymouth. He was a lawyer by profession, several times represented Sandwich in the legislature, was two years a member of the senate, and sheriff of the county, 1816-23.

By the decease of Rev. James Freeman, D. D., a native of Truro, Nov. 4, 1835, at the age of 77, historical and genealogical students lost one of their most devoted members, and the clerical profession a distinguished ornament and example. For many years he was the minister of the Stone Chapel, Boston, and ever kept up a deep interest in the history and traditions of the county.

Mr. Ebenezer Sears died in Yarmouth, Sept. 20, 1835, aged 80 years. He was in the Revolutionary army, and, as already stated, was one of the guard over Major Andre the night before his execution at West Point. He afterwards commanded the first American vessel that rounded the Cape of Good Hope, on a voyage to India. He was of the family of Capt. Isaac Sears, the Revolutionary agitator of New York, and father of the distinguished Boston merchant, Joshua Sears.

Abner Davis, Esq., for many years register of probate and clerk of the courts for the county, deceased Sept. 4, 1839, aged 55 years. He was of the legal profession. He was in direct descent from Robert Davis, one of the first settlers of Barnstable.

Rev. Nathan Underwood, pastor of South Precinct church, in Harwich, departed this life May 1, 1841, aged 88 years. Mr. Underwood was a native of Lexington, Mass., and was early a student, while yet an apprentice to a carpenter. He was prevented by a severe cut in the foot from taking part in the affair of the 19th of April, 1775, but soon after joined the army and was engaged in the battle of Bunker Hill, being one of the last to leave the field. He was also in the battles on Long Island, displaying great fearlessness and bravery. He participated in the sufferings and privations in camp on the succeeding winter, was with Washington in the crossing of the Delaware, and in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. He afterwards entered Harvard college, graduating in 1788, and studied for the ministry, settling in Harwich in 1792. He was popular and successful as a citizen, being several times elected to the legislature, and was also a shrewd business man and a scientific farmer. He reared a large family.

Hon. Isaiah L. Green died in New York in 1841, aged 80 years. He graduated at Harvard in 1781. He was elected a member of Congress and served in the sessions of 1805-9, and again in 1811-13, when he was superseded by Hon. John Reed. In 1814, he was appointed by Madison, collector of customs for the district of Barnstable, which office he retained until 1837. After his retirement, Mr. Green lived for a year or two in New York.

Rev. Philander Shaw, a pastor for many years of the Eastham society, died Oct. 10, 1841, aged 73. He was a native of Bridgewater, was ordained pastor of the Eastham church in 1795, which relation he sustained for a little over 41 years, or until about two years before his death. He was also two years in the legislature from Eastham.

Hon. Russell Freeman died Jan. 9, 1842. He was a son

of Gen. Nathaniel Freeman of Revolutionary memory, was some time a member of the executive council, representative from Sandwich, and collector of customs of the port of New Bedford. His genial manners, polished wit, and acknowledged abilities rendered him a favorite in social circles and public assemblages.

Rev. Jonathan Burr of Sandwich died Aug. 2, 1842. He was born in West Bridgewater, graduated at Harvard college, and settled in Sandwich in 1787. He was a fine scholar and a faithful principal of Sandwich academy for the first years of its existence. His dismissal from the pastorate of the First parish church, Sandwich, and the subsequent litigation in connection with that transaction, involved no question of morals or personal integrity. It was brought to establish the legal rights of the parties in controversy.

Rev. John Simpkins, pastor of the First Congregational church and society of Brewster for forty years, died in Boston, Feb. 28, 1843. Mr. Simpkins held a high position as a scholar and theologian, and both in devotion to his duties and his deportment sustained the traditional reputation of a minister of the Old Colony.

David Crocker, Esq., sheriff of the county, deceased Sept. 4, 1843. Mr. Crocker was only fifth in lineal descent from Dea. Wm. Crocker, one of the original settlers of the town, and was prominent in business as well as political circles. He was born Feb. 28, 1789.

Dr. James Thacher, a native of Barnstable, died in Plymouth, May, 1844, aged 90. He studied medicine with the eccentric Dr. Abner Hersey, of his native town, and, in 1775, entered the Revolutionary army as a surgeon, continuing in the service until the close of the war, or seven and one-half years. He wrote and published the Revolu-

tionary Journal, Medical Biography, History of Plymouth, American Orchardist, Medical Dispensary, works of literary merit and ample information.

Hon. Braddock Dimmick of Falmouth, died April 30, 1845, aged 84. He was the eldest son of Gen. Joseph Dimmick of Revolutionary renown, and had himself been often honored by his fellow-citizens of the town and county.

Sept. 3, of the same year, died, Mr. George Hallet, a native of Yarmouth, and an eminent merchant of Boston, a man whose helpful and benevolent disposition was as prominent a trait of his character as his enterprise and business sagacity.

In 1848, Nov. 21, died, General Elijah Cobb of Brewster, eminent as a shipmaster and in civil life, aged 81 years.

In 1849, Jan. 25, Dr. Jonathan Leonard, a distinguished physician and honored citizen of Sandwich, died, aged 86 years.

Capt. Benj. Hallett of Barnstable, shipmaster and theological controversialist, died December 31, 1849, aged 90.

Obed Brooks, Esq., Harwich, prominent as county official and business man, died Aug. 4, 1856, aged 75.

Rev. Henry Lincoln, more than 50 years pastor of the church in Falmouth, died in Nantucket, May 28, 1857, aged 92 years.

Joshua Sears, Esq., a native of Yarmouth, died in Boston, Feb. 7, 1857. He was an enterprising and sagacious merchant, and left one of the largest estates ever acquired in Massachusetts, some portions of which he bequeathed to his native town for educational purposes, and to other public beneficial objects.

Hon. Elijah Swift died in Falmouth, Jan. 19, 1852, aged 77 years. He was 12 years a representative, and two years a member of the executive council. He made a considerable

fortune as a government contractor for cutting live oak for the navy, and established and many years carried on the whaling business at Wood's Hole.

Capt. John Collins, who was a native of Truro, and whose name is honorably connected with the establishment of regular lines of steamers between this country and Europe, died at New York, Nov. 21, 1857, aged 63 years.

Hon. Zeno Scudder died in Osterville, June 26, 1857. He was born in Barnstable in 1807, studied law, and settled first in Falmouth, and afterwards in Barnstable. He was in the Massachusetts senate in 1846-7-8, the last year serving as president of that body. He was elected to the 32d Congress, and made an able speech on the American fisheries. He was re-elected, but did not take his seat, owing to an accident which disabled him, dying soon after, at the age of 50 years.

Hon. John Reed, many years a resident in Yarmouth, died at Bridgewater, Nov. 25, 1860. He was born in Bridgewater, in 1781, was graduated at Brown University, 1803, embraced the legal profession, and settled in Yarmouth. In 1813, he was elected to Congress as an avowed opponent of the war measures of Mr. Madison's administration. He was re-elected in 1815, and defeated in 1817, by Walter Folger of Nantucket. He was again chosen in 1821, and remained in Congress until 1841, an almost unexampled term of service. In 1844 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts and was six times re-elected.

Rev. Enoch Pratt died in Brewster, Feb. 2, 1860, aged 78. He was 27 years pastor of West Barnstable church, receiving during that period 380 persons to church communion. He wrote a history of Eastham, Wellfleet and Orleans, published in 1844.

In 1861, Dea. Allen Hinckley of Truro died, aged 91 years. He was a native of Falmouth and went to Truro in early life, and was a house-builder of prominence in his generation.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS, 1815–1860.

1816. Proprietors of Bass River Bridge, between Yarmouth and South Dennis, incorporated.—Jurisdiction ceded to the United States for sites of light-houses on Race Point and Point Gammon.—Dennis divided into North and South parishes.—Hon. James Freeman of Sandwich, sheriff of the county, died July 3.—A proposal for building a county poor-house was agitated.

1817. The Eastham and Orleans canal proprietors incorporated, for opening a canal from the head of Nauset Cove to Boat Meadow Creek. —Yarmouth Society for Suppression of Intemperance (the second in the country) formed.

1818. The South Congregational society of Barnstable incorporated. —The lands lying in Harwich, Orleans and Brewster belonging to the Potnumaquet Indians (then extinct) were sold for $300.

1819. Major George Lewis, a native of Barnstable, one of the early settlers of Gorham, Maine, died there this year. He served in the Revolutionary war and was in the battle of Bunker Hill.

1820. The town of Brewster appointed a committee "to keep the meeting-house clear of dogs and to kill them if their owners will not keep them out," and compensation of $3.00 was voted therefor.

1823. Site for light-house on Monomoy Point granted to the United States.—Lower Bridge Company, of Yarmouth and Dennis, incorporated.

1825. The Sandwich Glass Factory established in this town commenced operations by blowing glass July 4. The company was incorporated the next year, with a capital of $300,000.

1826. Congress appropriated $3,600 for preservation of Provincetown Harbor.—Sites granted to the United States for light-houses on Long Point, Provincetown, and on Sandy Neck, Barnstable.

1827. Sandwich offered a reward of $100 for the killing of a wolf, that was destroying sheep in the woods.

1828. Site for light-house ceded to the United States at Nobsque Point, Falmouth.

1829. Several estates in Truro set off to Provincetown.

1831. In January of this year a heavy fall of snow proved fatal to deer in Sandwich woods. People with snow shoes barbarously slaughtered or captured about 200; forty of these were taken alive.

1833. Rev. Ezra S. Goodwin, of First church in Sandwich, died.

1834. Indian Plantation of Mashpee constituted a district.

1835. A portion of Truro annexed to Wellfleet.

1837. Act passed establishing the dividing line between Wellfleet and Truro.—"Millennial Grove," in Eastham, incorporated for camp-meeting purposes.

1838. The North Parish in Harwich authorized to take the name of The First Parish in Brewster.

1840. March, Mashpee created a parish for religious purposes.

1841. Portion of Mashpee annexed to Falmouth.—April 30, Capt. Samuel Taylor, a Revolutionary soldier, died in Yarmouth, aged 85 years. He was near Gen. Warren when he fell at Bunker Hill, was at Princeton, Monmouth, Saratoga and Yorktown, and endured the terrible winter at Valley Forge.

1842. Division of plantation lands of Mashpee to the proprietors, authorized.

1843. May 11, a monster whale was captured near the end of Cape Cod, by Capt. Ebenezer Cook, David Sparks and others, in a small pink-stern schooner of about 50 tons, called the Cordelia. The whale was estimated at 200 bbls. of oil and about 2000 lbs. bone. Not having proper facilities for the purpose, only 125 bbls. of oil and about 300 lbs. of bone were saved. The real value of the whale was estimated at $10,000.

1844. Crew of ten men of fishing schooner Commerce, at anchor near Truro harbor, disappeared in the night time. They were supposed to have been lost by the swamping of their boat while coming ashore.—A jail was erected in Provincetown, by order of the county commissioners.

1845. Schooner Altorf, of Truro, Capt. Wm. S. Hutchins, with six men, lost on Grand Banks.—Martha Hamilton of Falmouth died, aged 107 years.

1846. Six of the crew of schooner Brenda, of Truro, drowned in that harbor by upsetting of a boat.—British steamship Cambria grounded on Truro beach, about five miles south of the light-house. The mails were sent to Boston by stage coach and railroad, and the steamer was hauled off by tugs in a day or two, uninjured.

1848. Dividing line between Harwich and Brewster changed, by act of the legislature.

1849. The commissioners of Barnstable county were authorized to construct a bridge and lay out a highway across East Harbor in Truro, from the end of Beach Point to Provincetown.

1850. Ansel Taylor, Yarmouth, died, aged 101 years, 7 months.—Brig Eagle lost at Provincetown, with 15 lives.

1851. "The Cape Cod Association in Boston" organized.

1852. $5000 was appropriated by Congress for the preservation of Provincetown Harbor.—A commission, appointed by authority of the legislature, to examine and report upon the condition of Provincetown harbor, reported the next year.—Samuel Lewis, a native of Falmouth, Superintendent of Common Schools of Ohio for fifteen years, and known by the title of "Father of the Common Schools of Ohio," died July 28, aged 55 years.

1853. Boston Cape Cod Association celebrated their anniversary at Yarmouth.—Steamer Ajax foundered off Provincetown, and 13 lives lost.—Great December storm on the coast; Central wharf store, Yarmouth, swept away and wharf destroyed. Schooner Leo of Rockland came ashore at Sandy Neck; her crew lost.

1854. The first bridge across East Harbor, Provincetown, was constructed by order of the commissioners of Barnstable county.

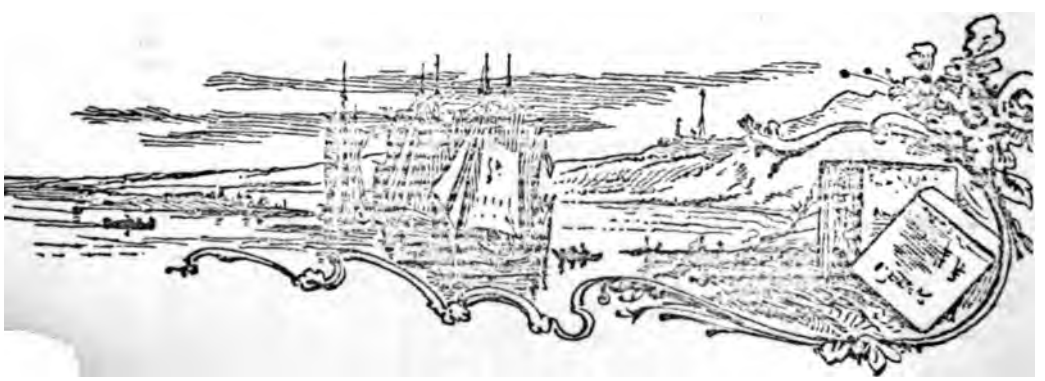
1855. Land was ceded to the United States for the erection of a custom house in Barnstable, which was commenced, and finished the succeeding year.—Bridge from Beach Point in Truro to Provincetown, constructed by order of the county commissioners, at a cost of $9000, of which Provincetown paid one-half, Truro and the county the balance.

1856. "The New York Cape Cod Association" was organized.

1857. Land on Billingsgate Island, Wellfleet, was ceded to the United States for the construction of a dwelling for a light-house keeper.—$2500 appropriated by the legislature to enable Levi Baker of Yarmouth to test before the U. S. Supreme Court, the constitutionality of the act of the Virginia legislature in relation to detention and search of vessels.—A hall for use of Barnstable County Agricultural Society was erected.

1858. In October schooner Granite of Quincy was lost on outer bar at Yarmouth, with her crew of five or six men.

1859. Eben S. Ward of South Wellfleet was murdered by his son-in-law, who was of unsound mind.



CHAPTER XVI.

CAPE COD IN THE REBELLION.

Response to Sumter's guns—Action of Cape Towns—Filling of the Quotas—Cape Officers and Soldiers—Destruction of our Marine—Mason & Slidell—Deaths of Chief Justice Shaw, Hon. William Sturgis, Judge Nymphas Marston, Hon. Zenas D. Bassett, Hon. Solomon Davis—Yarmouth Camp Meeting Association.

HE opening guns of Sumter caused a remarkable uprising of patriotism in all the communities of the Cape. Meetings of citizens were at once held to devise measures for vindicating the honor of the nation and upholding the dignity of the insulted flag. In some cases meetings were unofficial, but were called by authority of the officers of the towns. The earliest of these town meetings were those held May 2, in Yarmouth and Provincetown. At the former, resolutions were passed pledging the town to the support of the government in its endeavors to suppress the Rebellion, and recommending the especial efforts of the citizens to strengthen the naval arm of the service, in view of the avowed design of the South to send forth "piratical crafts for the purpose of spoliation and plunder upon the commerce of the country." The resolves adopted at Provincetown breathed a spirit of the most devoted patriotism, and pledged the government a "hearty support of men and means." Barnstable followed, May 4th, in a series of

resolutions, offering the sum of $40 to each volunteer; and pledging support to the families of those citizens who enlisted "during the whole time the head of the family is actually employed in the service." Harwich voted, May 10th, to raise 100 men for a coast guard, and authorized the selectmen to set apart $1,000 for war purposes. Brewster, May 24th, raised money and provided for the families of volunteers. Orleans, May 27th, passed a series of spirited resolves, and raised $1,000 for the support of families of the volunteers. Sandwich, May 11th, held a meeting authorizing the selectmen to borrow $4,000 as it might be required, for the benefit of the families of those in the military service. This town had, in April preceding, held public meetings, at which a military company was formed, which subsequently became a part of the 29th regiment, and the sum of $620 was raised by private subscription as a bounty to the volunteers. Those towns which held no public meetings were in no way behind their neighbors, in their efforts through their citizens, unofficially, in promoting the cause which all had equally at heart.

On the 4th of July, 1862, the President issued a call for 300,000 volunteers for three years' service, of which number Massachusetts was to furnish 15,000, and the county of Barnstable, 379. Meetings were immediately held in all the towns, the money appropriated and bounties offered for such as would leave their pursuits at home and join the ranks of their country's defenders. In less than sixty days the call was responded to. On the 4th of August, 300,000 more men were called for, to serve for nine months, and of these, Massachusetts was to furnish 19,080, and Barnstable county 394. Before these calls were made, the Cape had furnished her due proportion of men for the army and a considerable number for the navy, for which no credit was

given; and this injustice continued until 1864, when an act passed Congress and was approved by the President, allowing those who had enlisted in the navy since April, 1861, to be counted in the contingent of the state to which they belonged, and in which they had enlisted. A recruiting office was opened in Barnstable custom house, in November, 1863, Lieut.-Col. J. M. Day being superintendent, from which recruits were sent forward as soon as they were mustered into the service. Before the end of 1863, the additional men demanded under these calls had been enlisted and sent forward to the front.

In October, 1863, another call was made for 300,000 more troops for three years. Of this number, this county was required to furnish 380, and recruiting progressed with reasonable activity, but the number of those who were able to leave their employments and associations to enter the service of the country had been greatly reduced. The nine months' men had all returned, and it was necessary, for the efficiency of military operations, that the number of troops in the field should be increased. So, in February, 1864, the President issued a proclamation ordering a draft for 500,000 men, or 200,000 in addition to the number called for in October; and of this latter quota Barnstable county was to furnish 308 additional.

During the year 1863, the realities of the war were brought home to the doors of our people by the incursion of the rebel privateer Tacony, which, coming upon our coast, captured, plundered and burned nineteen vessels, including five ships, the remainder being mostly fishing schooners. After cruising several days in this portion of the Atlantic, finding a U. S. vessel in pursuit, the Tacony was abandoned and destroyed The crew proceeded to Portland harbor, took possession of the revenue cutter Cushing, lying at anchor

with a few men on board, and, upon being pursued, abandoned and destroyed it, and were afterwards captured and made prisoners.

In the operations around Richmond, in the spring of 1864, numerous casualties occurred to soldiers from Barnstable county, especially to Co. A, 58th Regiment, and Cos. E and I, 4th Regiment.

In 1862, January 1, Mason and Slidell, the two emissaries of the so-called Southern Confederacy, who had been captured by Capt. Wilkes and confined at Fort Warren, in Boston harbor, were brought to Provincetown harbor and delivered to the commander of British steamer Rinaldo, and proceeded to their destination.

The capture of Charleston and Richmond occasioned great rejoicing and patriotic demonstrations everywhere throughout the county, which were followed by less enthusiastic, but no less sincere, expressions of gratitude and relief.

The number of men furnished by the county for the army and navy, according to the selectmen's returns, was 2,305. But this refers probably to the inhabitants of the towns only, who enlisted under the several calls, for about 3,400 were requisite to fill the various quotas, and each of the towns not only did this, but had in the aggregate a surplus of 309 men above every demand, giving evidence that 3,600 or 3,700 men were furnished by the towns of the Cape. The total expense of the towns of the county on account of the war was $308,985.08. This is exclusive of $90,934.84, which was raised and paid in state aid to soldiers' families during the four years of the war, and which was reimbursed by the state. The total was $399,919.92.* The loss of life of brave and devoted men, and the broken health of many of those who lived to return,

*Schouler's History of the Rebellion.

were results which this community shared with others all over this broad land.

Although furnishing but few conspicuous examples of brilliant military achievements, such as were exhibited by her sons in the French wars and in the Revolution, the steadfastness and courage of the rank and file of the Cape contingent were equal to every emergency. A few of her native officers rose to distinction, and others fell a sacrifice to the duties of their positions.

Lieut.-Col. Charles Chipman, a native of Sandwich, of the 29th Massachusetts regiment, who was killed at Petersburg, Va., August 8th, 1864, was an officer of considerable merit, great gallantry and ardent patriotism. Brevet Major-General Joseph E. Hamblin, a native of Yarmouth, survived the war, but his death, which occurred in 1870, was directly traceable to hardships and rigors in the field. He entered the service as adjutant of the 5th New York regiment, and was promoted, by successive steps, for gallantry and meritorious service. He participated in sixteen important engagements, and was twice wounded at the battle of Cedar Creek, for which he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, by the recommendation of Gen. Sheridan. Capt. Chas. M. Upham of Chatham, of 58th Massachusetts regiment, was killed near Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, 1864. In the naval branch of the service this county furnished many excellent sailors, as well as a number of valuable officers for the volunteer force, and several skilful pilots of the highest value in the operations on the Southern coasts and harbors of the Confederacy.

The part taken by the people of the county in the arduous war, which followed the firing upon the flag, illustrated their patriotic impulses and their devotion to the Federal Union. Notwithstanding the ruin of their business, such as occurred

to no other portion of the state, they put forth their whole efforts to suppress the Rebellion and subdue the enemies of the Union, as the official records and the foregoing brief recital illustrate. By the census of 1860, the county was found to contain a population of 36,011. The business pursuits of her people had prospered and the growth of her population had been gradually, though steadily, on the increase. Thousands of her citizens, who followed the seas for a livelihood, made their homes and established their families here. This was the climax of their prosperity and growth. The Slaveholders' Rebellion, which decimated the commerce of the nation, was nowhere more disastrous in its results than in the county of Barnstable. Unlike other communities, the people of this county had no other great industries to fall back upon when maritime business was abandoned. They were essentially a commercial people, and nothing else. When this pursuit failed they were obliged to seek new fields of enterprise, and in order to do so were compelled to remove to communities where suitable industries were already established.

For a better comprehension of the position of the people of this county as related to the war, the foregoing narrative has been given, without recording the events which would tend to interrupt the continuity of the relation. Returning to the year 1861, we have to record the departure from this life of citizens of eminence and ability in their various walks of life.

March 30, 1861, Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw suddenly expired at his home in Boston. He was born in West Barnstable, January 9, 1781, his father being Rev. Oakes Shaw, pastor of the church in that place. He graduated at Harvard college, and educated to the law, commencing his professional career in Boston. He was

LEMUEL SHAW.

elected by that town, in 1816, a member of the legislature, serving seven years in the house of representatives and four in the senate. He was also a member of the constitutional convention of 1820. In 1830, he was appointed by Gov. Lincoln to the office of chief justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of the state, and retained the position for thirty years, voluntarily retiring in 1860. His reported decisions are characterized by great ability, a mastery of legal principles, and are quoted as authority in every state of the union as well as in the courts of Great Britain, stamping him as one of the greatest jurists of the age.

In 1863, January 11, occurred one of the very few deliberate murders which have stained the annals of the county. Isaiah T. Wright of East Sandwich, while passing in the night time through his field from one house to another, was shot and almost instantly killed. No reliable clue to the murder was ever obtained, and the transaction remains one of those mysterious affairs, which refute the oft-quoted maxim, "Murder will out."

During the year 1863, a camp-meeting association was formed of Cape and Boston Methodists, with societies from some other localities, and the first camp-meeting was held in a grove at Yarmouth, on the line of the Hyannis Branch railroad, commencing August 11, 1863, and continuing a week. The camp-meetings, which for about a quarter of a century had been held in Eastham, and were famous resorts for the primitive Methodists, were found to be inaccessible, and had been for a year or two abandoned, when Yarmouth was selected as a more desirable locality.

Hon. William Sturgis died in Boston, Oct. 21, 1863, aged 81 years. Mr. Sturgis was born in Barnstable, and at the early age of 19 years was in command of a ship. His voyages to the northwest coast, to China and the East

Indies, were attended with adventures and perils of an almost romantic character. He quitted the sea with a large fortune and established himself in mercantile pursuits in Boston. He was several years a member of the legislature. He was a keen and witty debater and a valuable legislator. He wrote much for the public journals, being an independent thinker and possessed of an engaging style of composition. As a public lecturer he was greatly esteemed in departments covered by his own experience and observation. He at one time contributed over $1,000 to the Barnstable Agricultural Society, to relieve it from debt, and his heirs have since his death carried out the intention formed in his life-time, to found and endow a public library for his native town, Barnstable.

In 1864, May 2, ex-Judge Nymphas Marston died at his residence in Marston's Mills. He was born in that town in February, 1788. He graduated at Harvard college in 1807, was educated for the legal profession, and was a very successful and popular practitioner. He was county attorney from 1816 to 1829. He was a member of the constitutional convention of 1820, served a year in the house of representatives, and was in the senate in the years 1826-7-8. In the latter year he was appointed judge of Probate for Barnstable county, and continued in office until his resignation, in 1854.

December 30, Hon. Zenas D. Basset died in Hyannis, aged 78 years. He was in early life engaged in commerce, as master and owner of shipping, and kept up his latter relation for many years thereafter. He was elected to the state senate, serving in the years 1851-2, and was six years on the board of county commissioners. He was also for about twenty years president of the Barnstable County Mutual Fire Insurance Company.

In 1865, Nov. 20, died in Truro, Hon. Solomon Davis, aged 65 years. Mr. Davis was a native and constant resident of that town. He had held, besides a number of town offices, the positions of representative and senator in the legislature, and was a member of the executive council for two years, under the administration of Gov. Briggs.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS, 1861–1865.

1861. October, Frederic Hallet, councillor-at-law, Yarmouth, died, aged 25 years.

1862. March, Jonathan Nickerson, Esq., of Dennis, died, aged 88. He was 19 years a selectman, and several years special county commissioner.

1864. Jan. 2, Capt. Isaiah Crowell died in South Yarmouth. He had been a successful shipmaster, was later representative to the legislature, and president of the Barnstable Bank of Yarmouth.—Jan. 22, Benjamin Burgess, Esq., West Sandwich, died, aged 86.—Nov. 21, the "First National Bank of Yarmouth," successor to the Barnstable Bank, chartered under the state laws, went into operation.

1865. Jan. 12, Job Chase, Esq., West Harwich, died.—April 8, two men killed and one wounded in Harwich, while firing a salute over Union victories.—Dec. 6, Cape Cod Central railroad, running from Yarmouth to Orleans, a distance of 18 miles, opened to public travel.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM WAR OF THE REBELLION TO OUR OWN TIMES.

Maritime Business depressed at close of the War—Cranberry Culture as a Business—Packets and Stage Coaches vs. Steam Roads—Cape Cod Railroad projects—Mails, Express Lines, Magnetic Telegraphs—Diking Provincetown Harbor—Bass River Bridges—Storm on Buzzard's Bay—Mashpee a Town—Death of Gen. Joseph E. Hamblin—Yarmouth Library Building—Wreck of Ship Peruvian—Life Saving service—Hon. Seth Crowell—Railroad to Provincetown—Nathan Freeman's donation to Provincetown—Cape Cod Canal projects—Hon. George Marston—Bourne incorporated—President Grant visited the Cape—Death of Amos Otis—Falmouth Second Centennial Celebration—Death of Hon. Nath'l E. Atwood, Hon. Joseph K. Baker, and Hon. John B. D. Cogswell—Quarter Millennial Celebrations in Sandwich and Yarmouth—Wreck of Ship Jason—Death of Capt. Thomas P. Howes—Memorial Tablet at Provincetown—Barnstable County Normal School in Hyannis.

THE war ended and the supremacy of the government assured, the army was disbanded and the union volunteers who had acted so great a part, like Cromwell's soldiery, once more became private citizens, ready to resume their old places in the ranks of peaceful industry. But to the soldiers and sailors of Cape Cod, those places no longer remained open. A great change, apparent even before the dawn of the rebellion, but accelerated by its occurrence, was evident in maritime business, in the modes of marine construction and the methods of the transportation of merchandise. Iron steamships and the remarkable develop-

ment of railroad service all over the country are responsible for this change. The vessels destroyed by confederate cruisers, or allowed to decay in port, were not replaced by new ones, and those already in service became unremunerative to a great extent. A large proportion of the men of Cape Cod, who had grown prosperous upon the sea and had established comfortable homes here, were obliged to seek new forms of industry and many of them removed to other and distant fields of labor. The population of the county, which, according to the U. S. census in 1860, had reached its highest point, 36,011, declined to 32,774 in 1870, to 31,945 in 1880, and to 29,172 in 1890. Whether this downward course has at length been stayed, is what all are asking, but which none can with confidence answer.

But for the development of the cranberry culture there is every reason to believe that the decreasing tendency of the numbers of our population would have been much greater than it really proved. This pungent little berry has been for years known to and esteemed by epicures, though until recent years it has not been an article of popular consumption. As long ago as 1677, the authorities of Massachusetts colony tried to appease the wrath of King Charles II., who was angry with them for coining "pine tree" shillings, by sending him a present of those three choice products of the colony, ten barrels of cranberries, two hogsheads of samp and three thousand codfish. The berry is indigenous to our soil and is better developed here than in any other locality in the country. About seventy years ago the experiment was tried of cultivating this fruit. The first successful cultivator seems to have been Mr. Henry Hall of Dennis, who commenced the business in 1816; and Messrs. Zebina H. Small, Cyrus Cahoon, Alvan Cahoon and Nathaniel Robbins of Harwich were early and successfully engaged

in the business, on an extensive scale. Shortly before the war there was a considerable development in this direction, and remarkable prices and great profits were recorded. The unemployed men who had returned from the war, and those who had lost their employment on shipboard, in many cases found a business at their hand, and thousands of acres of heretofore useless swamp land were reclaimed and cultivated with success. When the supply of land became short on Cape Cod, Cape men, who had acquired skill and experience in this business, transferred their field of operations to the adjoining towns of Plymouth county, which now has a larger area of cranberry land under cultivation than the Cape, though Cape skill and Cape capital are largely in the ascendant there. No strictly accurate figures of the business for several years have been compiled, but probably 150,000 barrels, worth $1,000,000, would not much vary in amount and value from the product of the Old Colony in 1895, the most prosperous year of the business. The preparation of the grounds, the extermination of the noxious weeds, plants and insects, the manufacture of packages for transportation, and more especially the gathering of the fruit in the fall, give employment to hundreds of persons of both sexes and all ages, generally of the younger generations. Many novel inventions for greater facility in harvesting the crops have of late years been perfected, which aid in saving from the destruction of the dread frosts a great portion of the product, which would otherwise be ruined. There is about 3500 acres of cranberry land in Barnstable county, according to the assessors' returns, and the average cost, at $400 per acre, would make the total investment $1,400,000.

In other ways than in their business pursuits the social condition and usages of the people of Barnstable county have greatly changed within the last third of a century.

Fifty years ago, almost the entire intercourse with Boston and the outside world was carried on by means of sailing packet lines. From every village of the inside shore of the Cape one or more of these lines was maintained, and passengers and merchandise were conveyed by them to and from Boston. These lines were also maintained between that city and Chatham, on the southeastern extreme of the Cape, but the usual custom was to notify the south shore dwellers of the time of departure and arrival of these vessels, by signals hoisted on some eminence discernible to the citizens of these villages. Speed and comfortable accommodations were prime factors in these crafts, and a good deal of rivalry existed among the owners, sailors and agents of the vessels. The stage coaches ran daily for the exclusive transportation of the mails, except in the instance of what may be styled "emergency passengers." Persons, who had to reach their destination at a fixed time and dared not trust to the uncertainties of the wind and water, were given the facilities of these lines. One by one, as railroad communication was established, these packets were withdrawn, but not until they had encountered opposition from steamboats from Barnstable, about 1842-3, and several separate periods thereafter. Provincetown, alone, is the only port in the county where daily steamboat communication with Boston is attempted to be kept up nearly all the year 'round.

The Cape Cod Branch Railroad, as heretofore stated, was opened to Sandwich in 1848, and extended to Hyannis in 1854, and the Cape Cod Central was opened from Yarmouth to Orleans in 1865, extended to Wellfleet in 1870, and to Provincetown in 1873. In 1872 the railroad was extended from Buzzard's Bay to Wood's Hole, at about which time the steamboat line, which had been maintained for several years between Hyannis and Nantucket, was

withdrawn. A branch railroad line from Harwich to Chatham, opened in 1887, completed the service to this county, leaving but one town —Mashpee — without a railroad line within its limits.

The rapid intercourse with the outside world, which this new facility for travel established, did not change the habits of the people of this county so greatly as it would have done a more rural community, as in every village were scores of those who, some of them with their families, had visited all portions of the habitable globe, and were well acquainted with the ways of the world. But, nevertheless, the steam cars brought many changes, such as rapid transit of travellers, twice-daily mails, and express companies for the quick despatch of merchandise.

The evolution of the mail service within the limits of the county had progressed slowly, in consequence of our being remote from any line of travel between the great cities, and the isolated situation of the towns. A post route between Cambridge and Falmouth, via Plymouth and Sandwich, was established in 1775, Joseph Nye being named as the postmaster of the latter town, and Moses Swift of Falmouth. Thursday, 8 o'clock, a. m., was the date of arrival at Falmouth, and Thursday noon the date of departure for Cambridge. This was doubtless a temporary arrangement, called out by the exigencies of the war. The U. S. mail to Sandwich and Falmouth was established about a century ago. The first U. S. mail between Boston and Barnstable was established in 1792, when the Postmaster-General contracted with John Thacher, of the latter town, to perform the service for $1.00 per day, against the protests of the party of economy, which existed then as now. It took two days to go and two to return, and the service was performed on horseback, the mail being carried on one side of a

saddlebag and the other side reserved for packages. A post-office was established in Barnstable probably the same year, in Yarmouth in 1795, and in Harwich in 1798. The latter year, Provincetown in town meeting voted "to petition to have a post come down to the Cape," and in 1801 the post-office was established and a postmaster appointed. During the war of 1812-15, the mails were brought to Barnstable and Yarmouth twice each week, about 1820 three times each week, and in 1837 daily. Below Yarmouth the service remained for many years at once per week. When peace with Great Britain was declared, in 1815, as we learn from a letter written by Josiah Whitman, postmaster at Wellfleet, "by the uncommon severity of the weather, the then mail carrier, Mr. Davis, did not go through the route for three weeks. On the week after the news of peace reached Boston, Mr. Thacher came down with the mail, and at that time there was an almost impossibility of travelling, on account of the snow being drifted, but he, knowing the route so well and every by-path, did accomplish it. The next week we had no mail arrived." In 1820, a petition was circulated in the lower towns to have a mail twice a week, which was established soon after. In the winter, the mail carrier used to take with him a saw and axe to clear obstructions when a snow storm compelled him to cross the fields, the towns not being accustomed to clear the highways from snow. About 1830, the service was extended to Provincetown three times a week, and daily, about 1846. From this to a double service daily upon the advent of the steam cars was a notable change, which effected many innovations in the social and business customs of the people.

The railway postal service which followed was initiated in 1855, when one man started from Boston in the morning in

charge of the mails, with authority to take and despatch letters along the route to Hyannis, returning in the afternoon to Boston. One pouch was sufficient for the letters and a few sacks for the newspaper mail, where now from 150 to 200 pouches per day are required. The present force comprises six clerks, running through the entire route.

An express line, known as the Cape Cod Express Co., was established in 1848, and ran from Boston, following the extension of the railroad service. In 1877, the New York and Boston Despatch Express Company commenced covering the same territory, and after two and a half years of competition, the two companies were united under the name of the latter.

Communication by magnetic telegraph was established between Boston and the Cape, in 1855. Two lines, in fact, were projected and put in operation about the same time, one known as the Boston & Cape Cod Marine Telegraph Company, the other as the Cape Cod Telegraph Company. The two lines, after a lively competition of two or three years, were "consolidated," and were then "absorbed" by the Western Union Telegraph Company. A telegraphic cable, in 1856, was extended from Nobsque Point to Gay Head, a distance of 3½ miles. The same year a cable 14 miles long was laid from Monomoy to Great Point in Nantucket. Communication was for two days transmitted through it, but the force of the current or some other cause broke the cable and the enterprise was abandoned. In 1858, a cable was laid across Muskeget channel, and established telegraphic communication between Edgartown and Nantucket. There were frequent obstructions and the cable was abandoned in 1861. Other lines between the main land and the islands were attempted, and after a while abandoned. In 1887, Congress having made an appropriation to maintain

a cable from Wood's Hole to Nantucket, via the Vineyard, as an auxiliary to the life saving service, also permitting the transmission of news and commercial messages, communication, with occasional interruptions, has since been maintained. This method of transmitting intelligence was supplemented, in 1882, by telephone service by the New Bedford system, with offices in West Barnstable, Osterville, Hyannis, Cotuit and Marston's Mills, and the following year the service was extended to the remaining towns below Barnstable. Thus the marvels of half a century ago became the every-day incidents and instrumentalities of our own times.

Having recounted the chief agencies which have transformed the Cape Cod of the fathers to the Cape Cod as this generation knows it, the following pages will record only the more striking and prominent events in the memory of the generation now on the stage of action.

The dangers which threatened Provincetown harbor by the rapid wearing away by the action of the tides and currents of the outer beach which protected East Harbor, became so imminent, that, in the failure of the general government to take remedial measures, the legislature of Massachusetts passed a resolve which was approved May 9, 1867, appropriating $100,000 for constructing a sea wall or other solid and permanent structure across the opening of East Harbor. The commissioners appointed to superintend the work were James B. Francis of Lowell, Richard A. Pierce of New Bedford and James Gifford of Provincetown. Mr. Francis, who was a skillful civil engineer, originated and planned the work, which was accepted by the authorities, and Mr. Paul of Lowell had charge of the construction and superstructure. After a

careful survey of Provincetown harbor and the channel, the current and the waters adjacent to the projected dike, by the late Henry L. Whiting, for the purpose of verifying the alleged fact of the deposits of sand by the current from East harbor into Provincetown harbor, and after making experiments by driving tongues and ground piles in the channel between the north end of Beach Point, in Truro, and the opposite bank in Provincetown, and considering all the contingencies liable to occur, Mr. Francis became convinced that the appropriation was insufficient for the work required, and $50,000 more was appropriated May 20, 1868. The work has proved most efficacious for the end sought, and has doubtless saved that important harbor from destruction at that point. After the work had so far proceeded as to exclude the tide from passing the dike, Mr. Francis resigned. Subsequently, upon the death of Gen. Pierce, George Marston of Barnstable was appointed on the commission, and served until the completion of the work. Since 1877, the dike has been employed as a road bed between Provincetown and Truro. The total cost to the state was $133,250.

By an act of the Massachusetts legislature of 1869, the Upper and Lower bridges connecting Yarmouth and Dennis, the only toll bridges in the county, were made free to the public. By the terms of the act, the supreme judicial court was authorized to appoint three commissioners, to make a valuation of the property and apportion the cost and maintenance among the county and several towns interested. The court appointed Hon. Thomas D. Eliot and Andrew T. Wood of New Bedford and Hon. Alfred Macy of Nantucket, as commissioners, who, after several hearings, made a decree, which was confirmed by the court, viz.:

Valuation of lower bridge, $9,928.14. Seven-fourteenths

JOSEPH E. HAMBLIN.

to be paid by county of Barnstable, $4,964.22; 3-14ths by town of Yarmouth, $2,127.50; 3-14ths by town of Dennis, $2,127.52; 1-14th by town of Harwich, $709.18. And for the future maintenance of the bridge, the town of Dennis to pay 4-11ths, town of Yarmouth 4-11ths, town of Harwich 1-11th, county of Barnstable 2-11ths. Valuation of upper bridge, $758.71. 8-16ths, $379.35, was to be paid by the county of Barnstable, 3-16ths, $142.26, by town of Yarmouth, 3-16ths, $142.26, by town of Dennis, 2-16ths, $94.84, by town of Harwich. And for its maintenance the county of Barnstable to pay 4-16ths of expense, town of Yarmouth 5-16ths, town of Dennis 5-16ths, and town of Harwich 2-16ths.

A great storm, which occurred in the northerly region of Buzzard's Bay, Sept. 8, 1869, rivalled in destructive power that of 1635, of which Bradford speaks in his history. The wind which came from the bay blew a hurricane, the tide was the highest of record for two hundred and thirty-four years. Buildings were in some places moved a considerable distance, in one or two cases directly obstructing the railroad track, trees prostrated, bridges carried away, railroad beds undermined and washed away in several places.

By an act of the legislature of May 28, 1870, the district of Mashpee was incorporated as a town, making the fourteenth in the county. A post-office was established here the same year.

July 3, 1870, Brevet Brigadier-General Joseph E. Hamblin died in New York. He was a native of Yarmouth, where he was born January 13, 1828. He was the most distinguished soldier which Cape Cod contributed to the national cause in the War of the Rebellion.*

A new library building, which was presented to his

*See page 277.

native town, Yarmouth, by Nathan Matthews, Esq., of Boston, was dedicated with proper observances, Dec. 20, 1871. An address was delivered by Hon. John B. D. Cogswell, and President Eliot of Harvard college, and other gentlemen participated in the services. Mr. Matthews also contributed other funds to the library on the condition, which was acceded to, that an existing library with some three thousand volumes, owned by stockholders, should be merged with the new association, which was to be made free to all the people of the town.

The treaty of Washington, which was negotiated in 1871, and which was in agitation the close of that year and beginning of 1872, by which the fishery products of the Dominion of Canada were to be admitted into the United States free of duty, was regarded as extremely harmful to the interests of this county, as afterwards proved to be the case. A meeting of those interested in the fisheries met in Harwich in December, and appointed delegates to go to Washington, to oppose the ratification of the treaty, but their efforts were unavailing.

One of the most disastrous shipwrecks of modern time occurred Dec. 28, 1872, by which the ship Peruvian, from Singapore for Boston, was stranded on that graveyard of shipping, Peaked Hill bars, off Provincetown, with twenty-five lives lost, and with a cargo valued at $1,000,000, which was either lost or greatly damaged.

The reorganized life saving service established by the United States government went into operation under its present system, Jan. 21, 1873. The service was originally established in detached localities on the coast in 1848, through the efforts of Hon. William A. Newell, representative in Congress from New Jersey, whose humane and beneficent efforts deserve to be held in grateful remembrance

by those who go down to the sea in ships. But, though accomplishing great good, the organization was seen to be defective. By the act of Congress of June 10, 1872, the service was extended to Cape Cod, and Benjamin C. Sparrow of East Orleans was appointed superintendent of the Massachusetts district, ten stations being designated, viz.: Race Point, Peaked Hill Bars, High Head, Provincetown; Highland, Pamet River, Truro; Cahoon's Hollow, Wellfleet; Nauset, Eastham; Orleans, East Orleans; Chatham and Monomoy, Chatham. Several additional stations and changes of location have occurred since their first establishment.

Hon. Seth Crowell of East Dennis died at his home April 1, 1873. He was a shipmaster of repute. He was four years representative, two years senator, nine years county commissioner, several years president of the First National Bank of Yarmouth, and a member of the Constitutional convention of 1853.

The opening of the Cape Cod Railroad to Provincetown, giving additional transit from Boston to that place, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, was celebrated July 22, 1873, with enthusiastic demonstration of joy and gladness, as the importance of the event to the people of the towns justified them in doing.

Dec. 11, Nathan Freeman, Esq., an honored citizen, while still living presented to the town of Provincetown a building to be used for a public library, for rooms for the Young Men's Christian Association, and other similar purposes.

The first visit of a chief magistrate of the nation to this region while in office was made by President Grant, August 28, 1874. He was accompanied by Mrs. Grant, and by Mr. Belknap, secretary of war, and Mr. Jewell, post-

master-general, and by a number of personal friends. The party came from Nantucket, via Hyannis, and from that point to Provincetown many demonstrations of respect were made at every station at which the train stopped. After remaining several hours at Provincetown, the party returned in the evening.

Oct. 19, 1875, Amos Otis, Esq., of Yarmouth, departed this life, at the age of 74 years. Mr. Otis was a native of Barnstable, was in early life a teacher, and afterwards became cashier of Barnstable Bank in Yarmouth, and its successor, the First National, and secretary and treasurer of the Barnstable County Mutual Fire Insurance Company, which positions he occupied for nearly forty years. He was a prolific and interesting writer, his most conspicuous service to the cause of letters being his researches and publications of matters of local history. His collected papers, entitled "Genealogical Notes of Barnstable Families," exhibit persevering research, a tender sympathy and appreciation for the founders of the town, and a discriminating judgment of their acts and motives.

August 31, 1882, Hon. Marshall S. Underwood died in South Dennis. He was a son of Rev. Nathan Underwood of Harwich, where he was born. He was many times called to fill positions of honor and trust, having been four years representative from Dennis, two years senator, two years a member of the executive council, and a presidential elector in 1880.

By an act approved June 26, 1883, a charter was granted to the Cape Cod Ship Canal company to construct a canal to unite the waters of Barnstable and Buzzard's bays. This act was amended by the act of May 27, 1884, by changing the location of the Buzzard's bay terminus and several other provisions. By a resolve of June 4, 1884, the legislature

commended the subject to the favorable consideration of Congress, as a work of great national importance, and worthy of substantial assistance from the national government. As this was the only one of many projects of the kind which resulted in active operations, and in which an effort was made in good faith to accomplish the work, a retrospect of the various phases of this much agitated enterprise may be properly made here, although the recital will necessitate traversing some portion of the ground already covered. The digging of a canal across the Cape has at various points been a favorite scheme at times for the last two centuries. In 1717, when the pirate ship Whidah was wrecked at Wellfleet, after a great storm, Capt. Cyprian Southack from Boston sailed with a whaleboat through the channel which was forced by the sea, near the point which defines the boundary between Eastham and Orleans. This channel was closed after the storm subsided. An application, which was afterwards made to the legislature for permission to dig a permanent channel, by legalizing a lottery to promote the object, was never carried into effect. About sixty years ago the project of a canal from Hyannis to Barnstable harbor, through the towns of Barnstable and Yarmouth, was agitated, and the region was surveyed by U. S. engineers. The Bass River route has of late years been brought into prominence, and a charter was granted in 1895, which was never operated. The route between Barnstable and Buzzard's bays has always attracted greater attention, from the fact that it avoided the outside passage around the Cape, with its numerous shoals and dangerous obstructions to sailing crafts. Official notice of this project was taken as early as 1698,* when a committee of the general court was raised to consider the subject, as already set forth.

*See page 135.

Again in 1776, the council and general court, and also the general court in 1791, passed resolves favoring its execution. In 1818, private parties considered the project, and surveys of the route were made. In 1824, the federal government made surveys under the direction of officers detailed by the secretary of war. A very favorable report was made to Congress, and but for the election of General Jackson to the presidency and the change of policy of the government on the subject of internal improvements, it is most probable that the work would have been commenced. The report favored the construction of locks to overcome the difficulties resulting from the difference in the time of the tides in the two bays, which has been the problem which other engineers have sought to solve. The legislature again considered the matter in 1829, and, in 1860, the state, in conjunction with the general government, caused elaborate surveys to be made, upon which favorable reports were submitted. In 1870, Gen. Foster, then in the employment of the government, examined and reported upon this route, as did Mr. Clemens Herschell, an eminent engineer, whose report was made in 1878. About this time a charter was granted for the construction of the canal to private individuals, who procured the Herschell survey. At that time there existed a very strong sentiment in Massachusetts in favor of the canal, and a most liberal charter was granted. The corporators, at the head of whom was Mr. Henry M. Whitney, largely interested in coastwise steamship transportation interests, after a deliberate investigation, abandoned the enterprise, as involving too great a risk and not assuring sufficiently favorable results. From that time to the present, the subject of the construction of the canal has almost annually engaged the attention of the legislature, five or six charters having been granted for the purpose.

The history of nearly all these organizations has been a record of failure, disappointment and unfulfilled pledges by their promoters.

Operations were vigorously commenced under the charter of 1884. The sum of $200,000, required by the charter to be deposited with the state treasurer, as security for the faithful performance of the obligations imposed by the incorporate act, was promptly paid in and land along the course of the projected canal was bonded. The work of excavation commenced at the Sandwich end of the route. A deep channel exceeding a mile in length was excavated by a steam dredger in the marshy land, to a point near the village of Sagamore, but at the end of about two years the work was abandoned and the charter lapsed. It is well understood that the experiment proved a very costly one to its promoters, and in 1897, by a decree of the supreme court, the deposit of $200,000 was devoted to the payment of land damages, to liquidate the claims for labor performed or furnished in the construction of the canal, and the balance reverted to the agent of the parties furnishing the capital.

August 11, 1883, Hon. George Marston died in New Bedford, where he had resided for several years, having removed there from his native town, Barnstable, in which he was born October 15, 1821. Mr. Marston was a jury lawyer of exceptional ability and influence. He represented Barnstable one year in the legislature, was register of probate from 1853 to 1855, judge of probate, 1855 to 1858, until the consolidation of the courts of probate and insolvency. In 1859 he was elected district attorney for the Southern district of Massachusetts, and, in 1878, was elected attorney general of the state, which office he held for four consecutive terms. Mr. Marston was a brilliant

and interesting public speaker, and his few public addresses which have been published possess much literary merit.

The town of Bourne was created by an act of the legislature approved April 2, 1884, the territory set off being the western portion of Sandwich, with nearly half the population and valuation of the town. The name selected was probably suggested by the memory of that early and devoted citizen of the parent town, so inseparably connected with the cause of the aborigines, and some of whose descendants, of wide and honorable reputation, were born within the limits of the new town. This accession made the fifteenth town in the county.

The town of Falmouth celebrated, with much enthusiasm, the bi-centennial of its incorporation, June 2, 1886. There was a procession, dinner in a large pavilion erected for the purpose, an historical address by Gen. John L. Swift, a native of the town, and speeches at the dinner by His Excellency Gov. Robinson, Hon. Wm. W. Crapo, and a number of the native citizens of the town.

In 1886, the county sustained the loss of an unusual number of its valued citizens. Capt. Nathaniel E. Atwood died in Provincetown Nov. 7, of that year, aged 79. Capt. Atwood enjoyed but few educational advantages in early life, but his natural abilities caused him, while engaged in the avocation of a fisherman, to critically observe the habits of fish, so that he was consulted by naturalists and formed a permanent friendship with Storer and Agassiz, who pronounced him "the best practical ichthyologist living." He served two years in the house of representatives, and three years in the senate of Massachusetts. He also delivered a series of addresses in the Lowell lecture course in Boston, besides many occasional addresses on his favorite theme.

Following Capt. Atwood, only five days after, Nov. 12, Hon. Joseph K. Baker departed this life, very suddenly, at his home in Dennis. Entering the same pursuit as Capt. Atwood in early life, and soon after upon that of fitting and managing vessels for sea service, he successfully pursued this business until the decline of the fisheries. Mr. Baker, besides holding many local offices, was two years a representative from Dennis, two years senator from the Cape district, four years a member of the executive council, and also of the commission on harbors and public lands. He was also a member, and high in the councils, of the Masonic fraternity, and director in railroad companies and banking institutions, enjoying a wide personal popularity. His age was 59 years.

Rev. Azariah Eldridge, D. D., died at his home in Yarmouthport, October 1, 1888. He was born in Yarmouth, Feb. 30, 1820, graduated at Yale college, in 1841, was settled over the North Congregational church, New Bedford, from 1847 to 1856, and over the Fort-street Congregational church, in Detroit, Michigan, from 1858 to 1865. He was in charge of the American chapel in Paris, France, from 1866 to 1868. Dr. Eldridge settled in Yarmouth about 1875. He was a member of the Republican national convention in 1881, and Presidential elector in 1884, and ten years president of the Barnstable County Agricultural Society. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Hamilton college, in 1863.

June 10, 1889, Hon. John B. D. Cogswell died in Haverhill, Mass. He was the son of Rev. Nathaniel Cogswell of Yarmouth, where he was born June 6, 1829. He was graduated at Dartmouth college, studied for the legal profession, and in 1857 was a representative from Worcester in the Massachusetts legislature. He afterwards

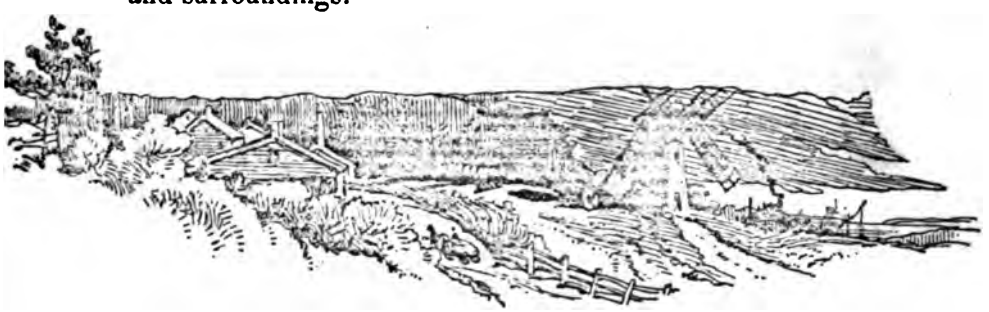
settled in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and was several years U. S. district attorney for that state. In 1872, having returned to Massachusetts, he was elected a representative from the First district of Barnstable county and was twice re-elected. In 1877-8-9, he was senator for the Cape district, serving the three years as president of that body. He made a most efficient and accomplished presiding officer. As an orator, Mr. Cogswell was highly esteemed for graceful rhetoric and wide information.

The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of what is termed the incorporation of the towns of Sandwich and Yarmouth was fitly commemorated in 1889. September 3, 1639, being the date when those two towns were recognized as such, by being represented in the first colonial representative assembly, was taken as that of their corporate existence. The Sunday previous was observed in Yarmouth by services in the Congregational church. Rev. John W. Dodge, pastor of the First church, Rev. Dr. Jeremiah Taylor, Rev. C. A. Bradley, Rev. G. I. Ward, Revs. Atwood and Osgood; and Messrs. Thomas Prince Howes and Joshua C. Howes, representing the Dennis portion of Old Yarmouth, participated in the exercises.

The observances in Yarmouth, on the 3d, consisted of a procession, under the marshalship of Mr. John Simpkins, along the streets of the town, which were tastefully decorated, an address in the Congregational church, by Philip H. Sears, Esq. of Boston, a dinner in the pavilion, erected on a portion of the first parsonage grounds, at which Henry C. Thacher, Esq. presided. Addresses were made by Lieut.-Governer Brackett, and Treasurer Marden, representing the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Mr. A. H. Hardy, representing the Boston Cape Cod Association, Hon. Wm. W. Crapo, Rev. John W. Dodge, Capt. Thomas

P. Howes, Judge Darius Baker of Newport, and a poem was read written for the occasion by Mrs. Mary M. Bray. There was a concert and dance in the evening at the Nobscussett House, Dennis, which closed a most interesting occasion.

Sandwich, on the same day, celebrated the occasion on a scale commensurate with its importance. Bourne, being a portion of the original Sandwich, as Dennis was of Yarmouth, participated in the observances. The decorations of the town were elaborate and tasteful, and the procession, under the marshalship of Mr. Wm. A. Nye, paraded through the principal streets of the town. The exercises were held in the Casino. Hon. Charles Dillingham presided and made a speech of welcome, and afterwards introduced Rev. N. H. Chamberlain, who was the orator of the day. A dinner was served in a mammoth tent, after which, under the auspices of Toastmaster Frank H. Pope, sentiments appropriate to the occasion were responded to by ex-Gov. John D. Long, Gen. John L. Swift, Hon. Charles S. Randall, Col. Myron P. Walker, Mr. Charles E. Pope. An ode, written by Mr. Daniel F. Chessman, was sung to the tune of "America." In the evening there were fireworks, a ball, and a Venetian boat carnival. It was a matter of regret that the three towns of the county, dating their origin on the same year, could not have had a union festival, but it was a natural feeling with each to wish to observe this natal day on its own hearthstone, and amid accustomed scenes and surroundings.



The original design of this narrative was to cover the two and a half centuries since the settlement and incorporation of the first townships of the Cape. Since the fulfilment of this purpose various matters have transpired which should be put on record, in order to complete the story of the county's history up to the present time, which will be found recorded in chronological order.

A memorable shipwreck occurred Dec. 5, 1893, on the outer side of the Cape, opposite the South Truro shore. British ship Jason, from Calcutta for Boston, with a valuable cargo, was stranded on the shoals and went to pieces, and all the crew but one man, 24 in number, lost their lives.

The state of Massachusetts, by the action of the legislature of 1893, undertook the preservation and improvement of the long neglected Province lands, located in Provincetown, comprising about 3100 acres. Their care and custody were given to the board of commissioners of harbors and public lands, and $3000 was appropriated in 1894, $3500 in 1895, and $3500 in 1896, which was expended in planting trees, constructing roads and paths, and other improvements. James A. Small is superintendent in charge.

The cause of historical research and elucidation and the roll of good citizenship suffered severe loss in the sudden death, June 26, 1894, of Capt. Thomas Prince Howes of Dennis, at the age of 77 years. Capt. Howes had commanded several ships in the foreign trade, and in the ports which he visited improved all the opportunities open to him to acquaint himself with the people and their customs and institutions. He was an extensive investigator and reader, and his knowledge of English literature was wide and discriminating. After his retirement from the sea, he served for several years as superintendent of schools for the

town of Dennis, for two sessions as representative in the legislature, and several years after as pilot commissioner of the port of Boston. He wrote much upon subjects of local history, as well as upon topics of general interest, and had wide knowledge and appreciation of the forefathers of the town and county; and the memory of one who has done so much to keep alive the names and acts of the worthies of the Cape, will be in like manner cherished by his contemporaries.

July 14, 1896, observances connected with the erection of a Memorial tablet in the space in front of Town hall, Provincetown, under the auspices of the Old Colony Commission, to commemorate the first landing of the Pilgrims and the signing in that harbor on board the Mayflower of the compact or constitution of government, was held in the hall, in presence of a large concourse of citizens. Addresses appropriate to the occasion were made by the presiding officer, A. P. Hannum, Hon. Wm. T. Davis, Henry A. Thomas, secretary to the governor, and other gentlemen. The tablet on one side of the memorial stone bears a representation in relief of the signing of the compact, copied from a marble tablet on the Pilgrim National Monument at Plymouth, and also the following commemorative inscription:—

This Memorial Stone is erected by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to commemorate the Compact or Constitution of Government signed by the Pilgrims on board the "Mayflower" in Provincetown harbor, November 11, 1620, (old style.)

On the reverse is a copy of the Compact, with the names of the signers.*

June 6, 1894, the bill establishing a normal school in

*See page 22.

Barnstable county received the assent of the governor, the place of its location to be determined by the state board of education. After hearings, in which the claims of several towns for the site of the school buildings were set forth, the board decided upon Hyannis. Dec. 26, the town of Barnstable voted to appropriate $20,000 to erect a building for a high school, and for a training school in connection with the normal school, and the structure was at once put under contract, and completed with all reasonable speed. It was ready for occupancy and opened for use the succeeding fall. Jan. 24, 1896, this building was destroyed by fire, which communicated in some mysterious manner. Subsequently the structure was rebuilt on a somewhat improved plan, and the normal school structure, which was commenced in the summer of 1896, was conipleted for occupancy Sept. 9, 1897. Mr. W. A. Baldwin is the principal of the school.

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS, 1866–1897.

1866. May 7, Capt. Timothy Hallet, Yarmouth, died, aged 86 years.—Capt. B. P. Howes of Dennis murdered by pirates on board the brig Lubra, of which he was master, in Chinese waters.—Aug. 25, Paul Crowell, Sandwich, died, aged 88 years.—Sept. 22, Thomas Hall, Esq., Dennis, selectman, died, aged 66.

1867. June 1, Rosanna Howes, the last of 11 children of Isaac Hallet of Yarmouth, whose ages aggregated 827 years, died, at the age of 89. One sister of the family, Mrs. Elizabeth Gorham, attained the age of 97 years.

1868. June 24, Ebenezer Bacon, Esq., of Barnstable, died, aged 73. He was for many years county treasurer, and later, for two terms, or about eight years, collector of customs for the district of Barnstable.

1869. Feb. 26, fire in Sandwich. Several stores and business places burned. Loss, $20,000 to $25,000.—Nov. 3, house of Nathan Downey, in Harwich, burned. His two children, aged 4 and 6 years, perished in the flames.—Dec. 27, dedication of new house of worship of New Church society, Yarmouth.

1870. Nov. 29, First Congregational meeting-house, in Yarmouth, dedicated.

1871. Jan. 26, Capt. Benjamin Dyer of Truro died.—Dec. 6, public meeting in Harwich to take measures to protest against the adoption of the fishery clause of the Washington treaty.—Dec. 20, dedication of Yarmouth public library.

1870. Dec. 9-10, 767 blackfish, yielding 1020 barrels oil, captured at various points on the inside shore of the Cape.

1871. Dec. 28, opening of railroad to Wellfleet.

1872. Feb. 15, Luther Child, Esq., of West Dennis, died, aged 84 years.—Feb. 21, Nehemiah Crowell, Esq., West Dennis, died, aged 70.—Extreme cold weather in the months of January and February.—April, consolidation of Cape Cod and Old Colony railroad companies.—July 4, Hon. Cyrus Weekes, South Harwich, died, aged 72.—July 8, Dr. Franklin Dodge, Harwich, died, aged 62.

1873. March 3, destruction by fire of house of Mrs. Josiah Foster, in Provincetown; the first house burned in that town for a period of sixty years.—Aug. 9, death of Eben S. Smith, Esq., of Provincetown, for many years underwriters' agent and prominent in business circles.—Aug. 24, destructive gale in Gulf of St. Lawrence; number of Cape citizens lost their lives and much shipping destroyed.

1874. Jan. 24, schooner Franklin Rogers of Chatham, capsized in Boston harbor and three men drowned.—Feb. 16, Capt. John Eldridge, Yarmouth, former Liverpool packet commander, died, aged 75.—March 25, Rev. Nathaniel Cogswell, Yarmouth, died, aged 80.—May 17, opening of public library in Provincetown.—May 30, dedication of new Universalist church in Hyannis.—Sept. 12, great school of blackfish driven ashore at Truro.

1875. Feb. 22, Dr. George Shove, Yarmouth, died, aged 57.—March 4, Italian barque Giovanni wrecked at Truro Highlands. Fourteen lives lost.—April 1, Rev. Joseph Eldridge, D. D., a native of Yarmouth, died at Norfolk, Conn.—July 5, Capt. Allen H. Knowles of Yarmouth died.—Nov. 27, Capt. Josiah Gorham of Yarmouth died.

1876. Jan. 13, David Snow of Boston, a native of Orleans, died in Boston, aged 77.—Jan. 20, a fire occurred in Harwich, which destroyed Cape Cod Exchange, Brett's block; dwelling house and several stores injured. Loss estimated at $35,000.—Jan. 27, Nathan Freeman, Esq., president of Provincetown bank, died, aged 78.—Jan. 28, Ezra H. Baker, native of Dennis, died in Boston. He was a well-known capitalist, and one of the promoters of the Union Pacific railroad.—May 2, Rev. Asahel Cobb of Sandwich died, aged 83.—May 15, Dr. Thomas N. Stone of Wellfleet, poet, orator, legislator, died, aged 58.—May 25, Capt. Franklin Hallet, a native of Yarmouth, died in Liverpool, Eng. He had commanded steamers in the Boston & Liverpool line.

1877. Feb. 16, the Town hall and High school house on High Pole hill, in

Provincetown, destroyed by fire.—May 9, Francis Bacon, Barnstable, died, aged 72.—Dec. 10, Rev. James Barnaby of West Harwich died, aged 91 years. He had been identified with the Baptist society there at different times, for nearly fifty years.

1878. Jan 22, E. K. Collins, a native of Truro, and founder of the line of steamers bearing his name, died in New York.—Feb. 4, Frederick Scudder, many years county treasurer and register of deeds, died in Hyannis.—April 20, 600 acres woodland burned over in Truro woods.—May 24, Hon. Freeman Cobb of Brewster died in South Africa.—Oct. 11-12, severe storm, by which trees were uprooted, spires blown over, great damage done to shipping on the coast.

1879. Jan. 12, Capt. Frederick Nickerson of Brewster died in Boston.—Jan. 28, Thomas Gray, merchant, a native of Yarmouth, died in Boston.—Feb. 25, Deacon John Munroe, many years treasurer of Barnstable institution for savings, died in Cambridge, aged 94 years.—May 1, Wm. E. Boyden, Sandwich, stage proprietor and business man, died.—May 1, Edith Freeman murdered by her father, Chas. F. Freeman, at Pocasset, in a period of fanatical frenzy.—May 16, new Barnstable county jail occupied for the first time.—Aug. 18, great storm and destruction of vessel and harbor property in Provincetown, Harwich, Dennisport, Chatham, Hyannis and other places.—Sept. 2, Capt. Peter Harding, shipping agent, a native of Dennis, died in Baltimore.—Sept. 11, Capt. B. S. Young of Wellfleet died.—Nov. 7, Hon. Levi L. Goodspeed died in West Barnstable. He had been a member of the executive council and sheriff of Barnstable county.—Nov. 16, French Atlantic cable laid in North Eastham. Terminus afterwards removed to Orleans.

1880. Feb. 28, Joseph Nickerson, railroad projector and capitalist, a native of Brewster, died in Boston.—March 14, Franklin Snow, merchant, a native of Orleans, died in Boston.—March 29, Henry V. Spurr, Esq., died in Sandwich.—June 17, Heman B. Chase, Esq., died in West Yarmouth.—July 5, Jacob S. Howes, keeper of Sandy Neck lighthouse, died.—Nov. 30, Capt. Atkins and two of Provincetown life-saving crew, No. 7, lost their lives while rescuing crew of a wrecked vessel.—Dec. 5, E. N. Winslow, many years superintendent of Cape Cod railroad, died at U. S. Hotel, Boston.—Dec. 22, Village hall, Yarmouth, destroyed by fire.

1881. Jan. 6, Hon. Erasmus Gould, ex-senator and president of Falmouth Bank, died.—March 23, Hon. John Doane of Orleans died. He was three years senator from this county, and county commissioner for six years. He had attained nearly 90 years of age.—April 26, Hon. John G. Palfrey died in Cambridge, aged 86.—Nov. 4, Capt. Prince S. Crowell of East Dennis died. He was an enterprising and successful ship-owner and general business manager, and a friend of liberal and progressive movements of the day.

1882. March 31, Capt. Samuel Matthews, Yarmouth, died, aged 80.—Nov. 18, Obed Brooks, Esq., died in Harwich.—Nov. 21, Nathan Crosby,

Esq., died in Brewster.—Nov., the largest single fare of codfish ever brought into the county was that of schooner Willie McKay, Capt. Angus McKay, consisting of 4062 quintals, valued at upwards of $22,000.

1883. Jan. 21, Capt. Oliver Matthews of Yarmouth died.—Jan. 25, Sandwich tack factory destroyed by fire. Loss, $15,000 to $17,000.—Feb. 5, Isaac Thacher, merchant, a native of Yarmouth, died in Boston, aged 75.—March 7, Capt. Winthrop Sears of Yarmouth died.—April 21, Hon. Albert Alden, a native of Yarmouth, died in Cambridge.—Luther Hinckley, Esq., ex-deputy sheriff, died in Marston's Mills, aged 94.—May 16, Capt. Isaac Crosby died in Brewster.—May 28, Hon. James B. Crocker died in Yarmouth, aged 79. He was two years senator and several terms clerk of courts.—May 30, Capt. Obed B Whelden of South Dennis died in Pensacola, Fla.—Aug. 11, Rev. Nathan Chapman died in East Dennis, aged 85 years.—Sept. 25, Mr. Timothy Phinney died in Newburyport, aged 99 years. He was a native of Barnstable.—Oct. 29, Hon. Henry Crocker, a native of Barnstable, died, aged 79. Mr. Crocker was several years sheriff of Suffolk county.—Nov. 29, Josiah Hinckley, Esq., Barnstable, died, aged 89. Mr. Hinckley had filled the offices of representative, county treasurer and collector of customs.—Dec. 5, a special term of the supreme court tried Charles F. Freeman for the murder of his young daughter, and the verdict was, "Not guilty, by reason of insanity." He was committed to Danvers asylum.

1884. Jan. 11, Mrs. Paul Sherman and Henry Holmes drowned while crossing in a boat from Sandy Neck to Barnstable.—Feb. 7, ex-Sheriff David Bursley died in Barnstable.—March 8, Capt. Joshua Baker died in Hyannis.—April 4, Col. George W. Hallet, of Providence, died in Yarmouth.—Nov. 18, great blackfish chase; from 1200 to 1500 driven ashore from Provincetown to Dennis, valued at from $12,000 to $15,000.—Dec. 27-28, another successful blackfish chase, 500 to 600 captured back of Sandy Neck, Barnstable.

1885. May 16, Capt. Nathaniel Matthews, Yarmouth, died, aged 79. He was a former commander of the missionary brig Morning Star, in the Pacific waters.—April 4, opening of new Exchange building in Harwich.—April 8, Hon. E. C. Howard of Bourne died in Watertown, aged 54. He was representative from Sandwich, and senator from the Island district, two years each.

1886. Jan. 29, Capt. Moses Howes of Dennis died.—May 10, Capt. Zenas E. Crowell, of Hyannis, died.—May 28, Col. Henry C. Brooks, a native of Harwich, died in Boston.—June 25, Capt. Isaiah Chase, Harwich, died.—Nov. 29, Capt. R. R. Freeman, Wellfleet, died.—Dec. 18, Asa E. Lovell, register of deeds, died in Osterville.

1887. March 6, Loring Crocker, Esq., of Barnstable, died.—May 11, great fire in the woods of Bourne, which burned nearly a week; 33,000 acres burned over.—June 18, Nathaniel S. Simpkins died in Yarmouthport, aged 89. He was the founder of the Barnstable Journal and

Yarmouth Register, newspapers.—Aug. 21, Rev. E. E. Chase, WestYarmouth, died, aged 83.—Aug. 23, David K. Akin died in South Yarmouth, aged 88. He was several years county commissioner, and president of First National Bank of Yarmouth.—Sept. 24, Capt. Owen Bearse, Hyannis, died.

1888. March 7, Rev. W. H. Ryder of Chicago, a native of Provincetown, died.—Sept. 13, Nathan D. Freeman, county commissioner, died in Boston.—Sept. 27, Charles Tobey of Chicago, a native of Dennis, died in New York.—Oct. 13, two persons killed at railroad crossing in West Barnstable, while attempting to cross the track in a carriage.—Nov. 14, Capt. Solomon B. Bourne, Falmouth, died, aged 91.—Dec. 3, I. H. Loveland of Chatham, president of Cape Cod National Bank, died.

1889. Jan. 20, Ginn's block, in Dennisport, was destroyed by fire; loss, $20,000.—Feb. 24, Charles C. Bearse, ex-Sheriff of Barnstable county, died at Cotuit.—March 27, ex-sheriff Thomas Harris died in Barnstable, aged 86 years.—May 20, schooner Nelson Harvey, New Bedford, was run down and sunk off Whale Rock, near Provincetown, and crew of six men lost.—June 1, Obed Baker, 2d, Esq., of Dennis, ex-county treasurer, died.

1890. May 14, James S. Howes of East Dennis died. He was for 24 years a county commissioner, and for a large portion of that time chairman of the board, a longer term of service than that of any other incumbent. His brother, Freeman Howes, of Yarmouth, who deceased Oct. 8, 1895, held the position of special commissioner for nine years, also longer than any other incumbent, and had been nominated for re-election.—Sept. 15, Capt. Rodolphus H. Atwood and Samuel Stanley were instantly killed by a stroke of lightning, while in a store in Provincetown.—Sept. 30, Paul Wing of Spring Hill, teacher of a private school of wide reputation, and an ex-representative, died at the age of 79 years.—Nov. 11, collision of trains on Hyannis branch railroad, by which Henry H. Howes was fatally injured, and others were hurt.—Dec. 12, Joseph Hoxie of East Sandwich died, aged 92 years.

1891. Feb. 28, great electrical disturbances throughout the county. The Methodist church in Wellfleet was burned, and many buildings in different towns were more or less injured.—March 2, Elijah E. Knowles, for several years representative and afterwards county commissioner, died in Orleans, aged 80.—Heman Doane, 3d, of Eastham, a local poet, died. He was the subject of a remarkable cure of a physical disability, which is recorded in medical books.—April 28, Hon. Joseph P. Johnson of Provincetown died, aged 77 years.—Col. Augustus T. Perkins, of Cotuit, died in Boston.—May 18, Mr. James L. Sparrow died in East Orleans, aged 90 years.—July 15, Jonathan Young, the first treasurer of Cape Cod Central railroad, died in Orleans, aged 83.—Oct. 8, Charles Thacher, 2d, for several years register of probate for this county, died in Yarmouthport.

1892. Jan. 2, Mr. George T. Thacher of Yarmouth died at Wellesley Hills, Mass.—14, Hon. David Fisk, ex-senator, representative and selectman, died in West Dennis.—Feb. 28, Eben S. Whittemore, ex-county commissioner, special justice First district court, died in Sandwich.—March 4, "Boston Store," in Hyannis, destroyed by fire; loss, $35,000 to $40,000.—March 8, Capt. Barnabas C. Howes, of South Yarmouth, died in San Francisco, from the effects of a street railway accident.—March 22, Frank J. C. Swift, selectman, etc., died in Falmouth.—April 24, Capt. Lemuel B. Simmons of Hyannis, ex-representative, etc., died in Portland, Me., aged 90.—June 28, Capt. Bailey Foster died in Brewster, aged 82.—June 24, Thomas Nickerson, a native of Brewster, prominent as a railroad constructor, died in Newton.

1893. March 25, six men of sch. Ada K. Daman, of Provincetown, were lost in a gale on Grand Banks.—April 1, "Crows' Nest," residence of Joseph Jefferson, actor, destroyed by fire, together with valuable works of art, relics and library; loss, about $250,000.—Sept. 17, half-centennial observance of foundation of the New Jerusalem church, Yarmouth.—Dec., Capt. Richard Matthews died in Medford. He was a native of Yarmouth, and for several years was the efficient commander of the Massachusetts School Ship.

1894. April 11, Nathaniel Hinckley died at Marston's Mills, aged 88. Mr. Hinckley represented Barnstable in the legislature at different periods, was sheriff of the county, and a writer on political topics.—Sept. 14, art gallery and contents, stable and outhouses of C. B. Cory on Point Gammon, Yarmouth, destroyed by fire; loss, $18,000 to $20,000.

1895. Feb. 19, Nathan Edson, ex-representative and ex-selectman, died in Barnstable, aged 79.—John L. Swift, a native of Falmouth, died in Boston.—April 10, Charles B. H. Fessenden, a native of Sandwich, died in Brooklyn, N. Y. He had been collector of customs for New Bedford, sheriff of Bristol county, and was the senior member of the Barnstable bar.—Aug. 2, Obed Baker, 3d, a prominent captain of Philadelphia steamship line, died in West Dennis.—Oct. 13, Capt. Coleman Nickerson died in West Dennis, aged 93.

1896. Jan. 5, Capt. Silas Jones died in Falmouth. He had been a celebrated whaling captain, and had once been the central figure in an attempted massacre by the natives of the Marshall Islands, which was averted by his skill and coolness. At time of his death he was president of the First National Bank of Falmouth.—Jan. 13, fishing sch. Fortuna collided with str. Barnstable and sunk off Highland light, and nine of the crew drowned.—Jan. 17, Hon. Alfred Kenrick died in Orleans, aged 95. A long time shipmaster, and state senator in 1856.—March 4, sch. Jonathan Bourne, with a crew of 16 men, lost near Pollock Rip.—March 12, death of Hon. Chester Snow, ex-senator, Harwich.—April 15, fire in the woods of Sandwich and Bourne, covered

10,000 acres.—April 16, Capt. Lot Higgins of East Orleans died, aged 86. —April 20, occurred the bell celebration in Falmouth, it being the 100th anniversary of the purchase of the bell of the Congregational society, from Paul Revere.—May 2, six cottages at Yarmouth camp grove destroyed by fire.—May 10, Capt. Albert Chase, Hyannis, died, aged 89. —August 8, Valentine Doane, Esq., long connected with shipping and fishing, died in Harwichport, aged 92 years.—August 16, accidental death by burning of Mrs. Charles Colburn and daughter in East Brewster.—August 17, Capt. Luther Crowell, a prominent steamboat captain of Boston and Philadelphia line, died in West Dennis.—Sept. 5, death of Judge James Hughes Hopkins of Second district court, at Provincetown.—Dec. 13, Rev. Henry P. Cutting, pastor of Pilgrim church, Harwichport, died, aged 75 years.—During 1896, 9 1-4 miles of macadamized road had been constructed in the county of Barnstable, a portion of the system of state highways inaugurated by the state of Massachusetts, the following being the sections completed in the several towns: Brewster, 1 1-2 miles; Dennis, 2 miles; Yarmouth, 3 3-4 miles north side; 2 miles south side.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FISHERIES AND WHALING.

Testimony to their value by Brereton and Archer, Capt. John Smith, Edward Winslow—Cape Fisheries and the Common Schools—Fisheries and the Wars—Statistics of the Cod and Mackerel products—Other Fisheries on our coast—Devices for catching Fish—United States Fishery Commission and Marine Biological Laboratory in Wood's Hole—Early Shore Whaling—Cape Whalemen in Foreign Waters—The business in Truro, Wellfleet, Falmouth and Provincetown.

HERE is abundant evidence that one of the inducements for the settlement of Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies was the prosecution of the fisheries on the coasts, with which the English people had become familiar through the writings of the first navigators to these shores. The chronicles of Cabot's voyage, in 1497, made known that here were "great seals, and those which we commonly call salmons; and also soles above a yard in length; but especially there is a great abundance of that kind which the savages call *baccalos* or codfish." Brereton and Archer, who wrote narratives of Gosnold's voyage in 1602, and speak of catching "a great store of codfish" on the coast, called the peninsula since known by that name, Cape Cod, "where," says Brereton, "I am persuaded that in the months of March, April and May there is better fishing and in as great plenty as in Newfoundland." Capt. John Smith and other writers also

enlarge upon the value and abundance of these fisheries, which must have been familiar to those seeking knowledge of the country. Edward Winslow, in a narrative of his experience as one of the agents of the Pilgrims who went over to England from Leyden in 1618, to solicit of King James consent to their going to America, records that when the monarch asked them, "What profit might arise?" he was answered in a single word, "Fishing." Whereupon James replied: "So God have my soul, 'tis an honest trade, 'twas the Apostle's own calling."

Arrived on this coast, their search was to find a spot fit for planting, and which would also afford them the surest rewards for searching the seas. They discussed a place which they called "Cold Harbor," in Truro, some of the company urging that it "seemed to offer advantages both for whale and cod fishery." But the place did not impress all the company favorably. Established at Plymouth, but for the fisheries, the Pilgrims must have starved in the perilous seasons of 1621-22. Continual references to the Cape fisheries in the colonial records show their value and importance. Previous to 1650, the people of Hull were allowed to seine fish at Cape Cod, but, in consequence of some irregularities, the Plymouth court passed another order and limited the fisheries there to "residents of the towns of Plymouth, Duxbury and Nauset, under regulations intended to insure an orderly course, in the management of it." The citizens of Hull again attempted, in 1671, to obtain a participation in the mackerel fishery at Cape Cod, stating that "by beating about by evening and by travelling on the shores at all times and seasons, they had discovered a way of taking them in light as well as in dark nights." The court, however, in 1684, prohibited "the taking of mackerel ashore with seines or nets," and decreed the forfeiture of

these implements and the vessels and boats of the persons who violated the decree. The fishery at the Cape was held by the government of Plymouth colony as public property, and its profits were appropriated to the public uses. It was devoted to a purpose which showed the far-sighted intelligence of the law-givers of the colony — the establishment and maintenance of free public schools in the jurisdiction. In 1670, the court, as heretofore stated, made a grant "of all such profits as might, or should, actually accrue to the colony, from time to time, for fishing with seines at Cape Cod, for mackerel, bass or herrings, to be improved for, and towards, a free school in some town in this jurisdiction, provided a beginning were made within one year of the grant." The beginning was made at Plymouth, which town, also, as well as some of its inhabitants, contributed to its maintenance; and, in 1673, the court renewed its grant, and appointed Mr. Thomas Hinckley as steward of the fund raised, or to be raised, for this purpose. This grant was not permanent, as appears from the fact that, in 1678, a part of the fund was granted to another party, and £5 for the schoolmaster at Rehoboth. From this time to 1683, portions of this fishery fund were assigned to various towns, to aid in the support of schools, Barnstable being one of the beneficiaries in the latter-named year. None of the embellishments of rhetoric are necessary to give force to the statement that Cape Cod, which first sheltered the fugitive exiles from Leyden; within whose harbor, in the Mayflower's cabin, was formed the first constitution of free government recognizing the rule of the majority of its members, supported and sustained the first free public school for the education of the children of the people!

The important part played by the fishery question in the controversy between the colonists and the mother country is

a portion of the general history of the nation; the relation of Cape Cod to this industry was from the first to the last intimate and important. Her fishermen and sailors were an indispensable factor in the wars with the French in Canada; they were in full force at Louisburg and the other expeditions against the enemy. The business was attended by great fluctuations, because of the enlistment of large numbers of men in the naval service of Great Britain, and by the removal of many others to Nova Scotia and Maine, Provincetown, just prior to the Revolution, being almost depopulated in consequence. From statistics furnished, extending from the years 1765 to 1775, we gain the following information:*

	Vessels annually employed.	Tonnage employed.	No. of men.
Yarmouth,	30	900	180
Wellfleet,	3	90	21
Truro,	10	400	80
Provincetown,	4	160	32
Chatham,	30	900	240
All Massachusetts,	665	25,630	4,405
From 1786 to 1790.			
Yarmouth,	30	900	180
Provincetown,	11	550	88
Chatham,	30	300	120
All Massachusetts,	539	19,185	3,292

Probably about the year 1850, the cod fisheries were in their most prosperous condition, more than half the capital and nearly half the product of the business employed in the state belonging to the towns in this county:

*Sabine's Report.

	Capital.	Men employed.	Value of product.
Barnstable county,	$1,230,185	4,719	$1,031,027
All Massachusetts,	2,127,885	7,917	2,188,441

Since that time, owing to the larger size of the vessels employed and the concentration of the business in the centres of commerce, the Cape fisheries have notably declined, and are still declining. The total product of this business in 1896, makes the following lamentable exhibit:

	Vessels.	Men.	Quintals cured.
Chatham,	boats,	64	250
Dennisport,	boats,	30	600
Provincetown,	27*	506	10,600
		600	11,450

From the settlement of the country to the present time, the mackerel fishery has been extensively pursued, but has been attended with great fluctuations and uncertainties. The mackerel is a sportive and capricious fish, liable to change its haunts and its habits. Exact statements and reliable statistics of the business are not to be obtained previous to 1804. Commencing that year with a catch of 8000 bbls., the product gradually mounted upward to 236,243 bbls. in 1820, and for the next fifteen years hardly ever went below 200,000 bbls., averaging more than that amount. From 1835 to 1845, there was a considerable reduction of product, but in the latter year it amounted to 202,302 bbls. In 1851, the catch went up to 329,242 bbls. The total catch of the year 1896, as reported by the inspector general, was only 70,717 bbls., in the entire state.

This decline is by some attributed to the use of the purse seine, by which whole "schools" may be surrounded off-

*Including fresh fish fleet.

shore, in any depth of water. Other causes, however, may have and probably did contribute to this result.

From the statistics available, the relation of the Cape towns to this enterprise may be gathered. In 1851, when the largest catch of the state is reported, the number of vessels, tonnage and number of men and boys employed in this county are given below:

	No.	Tonnage.	Men and boys.
Barnstable,	28	1,918	339
Brewster,	4	259	47
Chatham,	19	1,346	230
Dennis,	47	3,096	585
Eastham,	3	170	23
Harwich,	48	3,231	577
Orleans,	5	336	54
Provincetown,	60	4,332	688
Truro,	52	3,626	581
Wellfleet,	79	5,411	852
Yarmouth,	14	990	169
	359	24,715	4,145
Whole state,	853	53,705	9,112

In 1896, the total catch inspected in this county is comprised in 2,397 bbls., reported in Provincetown, taken by eight vessels and 169 men. The business of catching mackerel has not, however, declined to such a degree as these figures would seem to indicate, but the business has changed its character, a considerable number of Provincetown men being engaged in the market fresh fishery, though the fleet does not make a very great showing compared with that of former years, being composed of about 20 vessels during the year, only some 15 of them continuing in the business

for the entire season. These vessels employed not much exceeding 400 men.

Although cod and mackerel have, from the beginning of our history, been the chief objects of pursuit by our fishermen, and have engaged, more than all others, the attention of business and scientific men and legislators, there are many other and very valuable fisheries near at hand.* As population has increased and the markets for food fishes have multiplied, the resources of our waters and coast have been enhanced in value and importance, and contrivances for catching fish have taxed the inventive faculties of the enterprising and ingenious. Such devices as weirs, pounds, and fykes, for entrapping the inhabitants of the sea, though not in all respects unknown in former times, have in late years been employed to such an extent as to revolutionize the business. The expediency of employing these devices is a matter of earnest controversy, and much attention is devoted by the legislature and scientific boards in the discussion of measures for regulating or restraining these instrumentalities, in the same line of the controversy respecting sweep nets in the deep water fisheries. That our waters abound in more than usually important and interesting piscatorial specimens, is evident from the establishment of a branch of the United Sates Fishery Commission in Wood's Hole in this county, whence specimens are collected, observations of fish life and development are made, and adjacent waters, which have been denuded, are restocked with eggs and fry of different varieties of fish in great quantities and illimitable numbers.

The connection of the Cape fisheries with the cause of popular education did not terminate with the appropriation of their proceeds by the colony court to the establishment of

*See page 5.

a Grammar school in Plymouth. The importance of this section for scientific investigation and research was recognized by the establishment, in connection with the Wood's Hole U. S. Fishery station, about the year 1887, of the Marine Biological Laboratory, one of the most widely known and firmly established summer schools in existence, devoted to natural science. This is said to be the largest summer school of biology in the world, some two hundred persons being in attendance in 1896, and next to the Naples Station, it takes first rank in the number and importance of the contributions to knowledge which have gone out from it. It is also an excellent example of successful inter-collegiate co-operation.

The whaling business is another once important, now greatly depressed, industry. When the English first visited these shores Cape Cod bay was a favorite resort for whales, which abounded here and found the food they desired, and in the pursuit of which they were often drawn into shoal water and not infrequently left by the ebbing tide. The controversies about drift whales and the amount of legislation incident to this subject by the colony court, evince its importance to the colonists. They did not wait long, however, for stranded whales, but put forth in their frail boats and boldly attacked the leviathan "in its native element." Stations were erected on the seaside, where watch was kept for the appearance of the huge game. In Yarmouth a section was set apart (in the present town of Dennis) for the houses of the whalemen, and a spring of unfailing water was reserved for their use, and the "Whaling Grounds" have never been entirely alienated by the two towns. That the whalemen of this region early possessed unusual skill in this pursuit is evinced by the announcement that in 1690, "Ichabod Paddock of Yarmouth went to

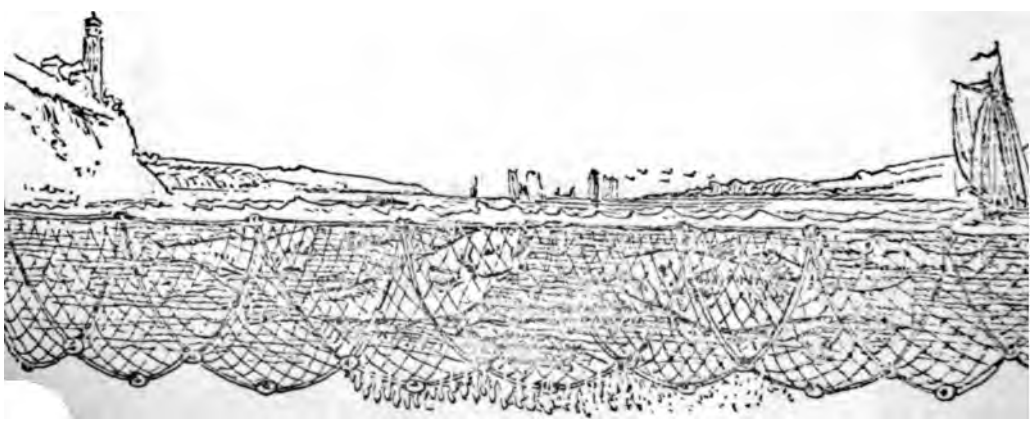
Nantucket to instruct the people in the art of killing whales in boats from the shore."

Whales becoming scarce after a while, vessels were fitted out to search for and pursue them. From Truro, Wellfleet, Falmouth, a lucrative business was pursued. In 1771, Barnstable county had 36 vessels engaged in this business, 2 from Truro, 2 from Barnstable, 4 from Falmouth, 30 from Wellfleet, with an average tonnage of about 75, and manned with an average of 15 men. Two citizens of Truro, Captains David Smith and Gamaliel Collins, in 1774, adventured to the Falkland Islands in pursuit of whales, acting by the advice of Admiral Montague of the British navy. They were successful, and after that visited the coast of Guinea and Brazil. The oft-quoted description of the New England whaleman, by England's great orator, Edmund Burke, loses nothing by age and use: "While we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, penetrating into the deepest recesses of Hudson Bay; while we are looking for them beneath the Arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of Polar cold, that they are at the Antipodes, and engaged under the frozen Serpent of the South. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of natural ambition, is but a stage and resting place in the progress of their victorious industry. While some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude and pursue the gigantic game along the shores of Brazil."

Capt. Jesse Holbrook of Wellfleet, who flourished in the period of the Revolutionary war, on one voyage killed 52 sperm whales. A London company eagerly engaged him for twelve years, to teach their employes his art. After a career of diversified fortune, he returned to Wellfleet,

where his life was closed. In nearly every Cape town half a century ago, numbers of veteran retired whaling captains might be found, but few of them now remain on the stage of action.

At different periods several towns of this county had considerable fleets engaged in the business. Thus, in 1837, Falmouth had at sea nine whale ships, with an aggregate of 2,823 tonnage. None now hail from that port. In 1865, twenty-eight Provincetown crafts brought in rising $300,000 worth of oil. In 1896, fourteen vessels, with an aggregate of 1,278.08 tonnage, sailed from that port. In 1855, there were fourteen whaling vessels employing 155 men hailing from Orleans. They have long since disappeared. The business as a leading industry of the county has steadily declined, along with the cod and mackerel fisheries.



CHAPTER XIX.

THE NATIVE INDIANS.

Friendliness of the Aborigines—Decimated by the Plague—Capt. Hunt's Treachery—The Local Sachemdoms—Indian Legends—Purchase of the Soil—Early efforts to Christianize the natives—Richard Bourne and his labors—Mr. Bourne's successors—Civil government for the Indians—Mr. Tupper's work in Sandwich—Enumeration of "praying Indians" on the Cape—Mr. Treat's and Mr. Thornton's labors as missionaries—Causes of the decay of the Indians considered—Organization of District of Mashpee—Yarmouth Indians and Deacon Nauhaught—Lack of Memorials of the Aborigines.

HE first advance of the Cape Indians to the English was in friendship and comity. When Gosnold landed on Cape Cod, in 1602, "a young Indian with plates of copper hanging in his ears, and with a bow and arrow in his hand, came to him in a friendly manner, and offered his services." Capt. John Smith coasted the Cape and landed there in 1614, and was kindly received and kindly treated by the natives. It was his Capt. Hunt, however, who kidnapped the seven Nauset Indians, and sold them into slavery in Malaga—an act of perfidy, which, for many years after, was the source of trouble and peril to the English.

In the year 1617, the plague, or some other mortal disease, broke out among the Indians between the Narragansett and the Penobscot, and almost wholly depopulated the region. The Cape Indians were comprised in this

calamitous affliction. They had, just before the breaking out of the disease, captured the crew of a French bark, and, in retaliation for the kidnapping of their neighbors by Capt. Hunt, had killed nearly all of them. A captive, whose life they had spared, told them that God was angry with them, and that He would destroy them and give their country to others. They replied that they were too many for God to kill. They recalled this prediction when they were smitten by the plague, and when the pestilence came, began, with the natural superstition of savages, to think one part of the prognostication had been fulfilled, and when the Mayflower and its company arrived on the coast, they felt that the other part was about to be enacted. The shower of arrows which was shot after them at Nauset, in what was styled "The First Encounter," was, no doubt, the outcome of the hostile spirit engendered by this act of treachery and bad faith on the part of Hunt.

Within the limits of the Old Colony of Plymouth were three principal sachemdoms of Indians. One comprehended the territory from Eel River, in Plymouth, to the south shore of the Cape, and from Wood's Hole on the west, to the eastern part of Barnstable. Within this were several petty sachems and divisions, of which Mashpee was the chief. On the eastern part of the Cape, from Nobscusset, now Dennis, was another sachemdom. The capital of this was Nauset, since named Eastham. These were called the Nauset Indians. All the Cape Indians were supposed to be tributary, or in some sort of subjection to Massasoit of the Wampanoags or Pokanockets.* But their dependence seemed to have been very slight. The local names, the places where the Cape tribes dwelt, were Massapee or Mashpee, Scauton, Cummaquid, Mattakeeset, Nobscusset,

*Trumbull's Hist. U. S.

Monomoyick, Sequatucket, Nauset and Paomet. They were a mild and inoffensive race, and aside from the affair at Nauset, their intercourse with the English was of a pacific nature. Their friendly offices while the English were famine-stricken, and the surplus of their granaries, which was the object of an advantageous traffic by the Plymouth colonists, doubtless saved the settlers from annihilation during the terrible winters which succeeded the settlement.

The residence of the Cape Indians near the sea developed in them a degree of imagination and a poetic fancy beyond the wont of savage and uncivilized people. The natives of the Cape and Nantucket had their own peculiar mythology, which they related to the early English settlers. In former times, as the legend goes, a great many moons ago, a bird, extraordinary for size, used often to visit the south shore of Cape Cod, and carry from there in its talons a vast number of small children. Maushope, who was an Indian giant, as fame reports, resided in these parts. Enraged at the havoc among the children, he on a certain time waded into the sea in pursuit of the bird, till he had crossed the sound and reached Nantucket. Before Maushope forded the sound, the island was unknown to the red men. Maushope found the bones of the children in a heap, under a large tree. He then, wishing to smoke a pipe, ransacked the island for tobacco, but finding none, he filled his pipe with poke, a weed which the Indians sometimes used as a substitute. Ever since the above memorable events, fogs have been frequent at Nantucket and on the Cape. In allusion to this tradition, when the aborigines observed a fog rising, they would say, "There comes old Maushope's smoke." This tradition has been related in another way: That an eagle seized and carried off a papoose. The parents followed it in their canoe until they came to Nantucket, where

they found the bones of their child, dropped by the eagle. There is another Indian tradition, that Nantucket was formed by Maushope emptying the ashes from his pipe, after he had done smoking.

The settlers on the Cape acknowledged the Indians' title to the soil, by the purchase, for a consideration more or less valuable, in all cases where they occupied the territory. The compensation, it is true, was not such as would at this day seem adequate, but it must be considered that the Indian deemed it sufficient, that he still exercised the right of hunting and roaming over the territory, reserving to himself his planting grounds and the right to avail himself of the resources of the territory, so that he in fact made but slight concession to the purchaser, and his own condition was rendered actually better by having thrifty and prosperous neighbors, with whom to trade and procure many articles which, in his savage state, he could not possess. Gov. Josiah Winslow stated, in 1676, "I think I can truly say, that before these present troubles with the Indians broke out, we did not possess one foot of land in this colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors." So long as an Indian existed he had reserved to him all the land that he could improve to advantage, and often more than he made a profitable use of.

Efforts were early made to christianize the Indians. Eliot, the apostle, called to Yarmouth, to settle a controversy in the church in 1647 or 1648, turned his attention to the work to which his life was devoted. He overcame all difficulties growing out of a difference in dialect from that of the Massachusetts Indians, and succeeded in making himself understood. He was baffled somewhat by the ill-nature or quizzical propensities of a sachem called Jehu, and encouraged by a pliable one, who lent a more willing

ear; but no such results grew out of his labors as in Natick, where Eliot spent so large a portion of his useful and devoted life.

At an early period, Mr. Richard Bourne, one of the emigrant settlers of Sandwich, turned his attention with untiring devotion, to the work of evangelizing the Indians in that vicinity. The earliest account which we have of his labors in Mashpee was in 1658, when he was present, assisting in establishing a boundary line between the Indians and the proprietors of Barnstable. In 1660, through his efforts, the grant of a tract of 10,500 acres of land was set apart for the exclusive use of the Indians of Mashpee. Rev. Mr. Hawley said of him: "Mr. Bourne was a man of that discernment that he conceived it was in vain to propagate Christian knowledge among any people without a territory where they might remain in peace from generation to generation, and not be molested." His efforts were then engaged in providing them with some settled and orderly plan of government. In Feb., 1665, on the application of Mr. Bourne, "in behalf of the Indians under his instruction, as to their desire of living in some orderly way of government, for the better preventing and redressing of things amiss amongst them by just means," the court approved of six Indians "to have the chief inspection and management thereof, with the help and advice of said Rd. Bourne, as the matter may require; and that one of the aforesaid Indians be installed to act as constable," the rights and authority due to any sachem not to be infringed. These Indian courts were eminently successful, and an orderly form of government was early established and long maintained. The Indians held these courts, tried criminals, passed judgments and executed the sentences. Mr. Bourne and Gov. Hinckley often attended these tribunals, and aided the Indians as magistrates in difficult cases.

Mr. Bourne, having obtained the deeds of the Indian reservation, as before stated, Aug. 17, 1670, was installed as pastor of an Indian church gathered from among his own disciples and converts. The ordination services were performed by the Apostle Eliot, other ministers of the vicinity officiating. The organization of a church was confirmed at the same time. Mr. Shearjashub Bourne, son of Richard, procured, after his father's decease, a ratification by the court of Plymouth, of the deeds obtained by this noble and devoted missionary from the Indians, and an entailment of lands to the South Sea Indians, "so that no part or parcel of those lands might be bought by, or sold to, any white person or persons, without the consent of all the Indians, not even with the consent of the general court."

The successor of Mr. Richard Bourne was an Indian — Simon Popmonet — who, after a career of usefulness of forty years, died about the time his successor was ordained. This successor was Joseph Bourne, a descendant of Richard, who sustained that relation from 1729 to 1742, when he resigned, "complaining much of the ill-treatment which the Indians received, and of the neglect of the commissioners of his support." He still, however, continued to show his interest in the cause of the Indians, and encouraged and assisted the next white missionary, Rev. Gideon Hawley. Mr. Bourne was succeeded by Solomon Briant, an Indian, as pastor of the Mashpee church; and, though he encountered considerable opposition in the county, he continued his ministry among his red brethren until 1758. He preached in the Indian dialect, was a good and devoted man, but apparently deficient in prudence and executive ability. His dismission was occasioned by dissatisfaction on the part of the Indians.

The successor of Mr. Briant was Rev. Gideon Hawley, a gentleman of high literary qualifications and devotion to duty, who labored here for nearly a half-century. Mr. Hawley had previously done missionary work among the Indians in Stockbridge, under the patronage of Rev. Jonathan Edwards, and afterwards among the Iroquois, under that of Sir William Johnson, and had been a chaplain in the French wars. He died in 1807, at his post of duty, aged 80 years.

Rev. Phineas Fish succeeded Mr. Hawley in 1812, encountering much opposition upon theological and political grounds for a portion of his incumbency. After a controversy of much acrimony, continued for several years, the inhabitants of Mashpee, whose spiritual affairs were managed by the parent Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, were, in 1834, accorded a system of partial self-government, which resulted in the retirement of Mr. Fish and the incumbency of preachers of the choice of the people.

Following the withdrawal of Mr. Fish, the pulpit was occupied for some time by Rev. Wm. Apes, who had been greatly instrumental in bringing about the new order of affairs. Mr. Apes was himself an Indian, of the Pequot tribe, and a man of much vigor and power, both as a writer and a speaker. He came to Mashpee at a period when the rights of the natives were not adequately recognized by the state government, and became their active champion in the effort to obtain a redress of grievances. There was a quasi revolution, and the participants were arrested and some of them convicted and imprisoned for riotous conduct. The services of Hon. Benj. F. Hallett,* a native of an adjoining

*Mr. Hallett, who afterwards attained eminence as a political controversialist and a lawyer, died in Boston, Sept. 17, 1862, aged 68 years.

village in Barnstable, were enlisted in their behalf, and by his sympathetic exertions, the legislature of 1833 was led to accord to these people the rights which they claimed had been withheld from them. Mr. Apes was regarded as their deliverer from oppression and injustice. Since his day no stable and settled pastoral relation has been sustained by any incumbent.

The form of civil government of this district, which was adopted after the establishment of the new order of affairs, accorded to the people a partial, though not a complete, management of their own interests. They chose their own town officers, who were assisted and restrained by a commissioner appointed by the state. By an act of 1842, their lands were apportioned among the proprietors in lots of 60 acres each, not to be conveyed, however, to persons not inhabitants. In 1870, Mashpee was made a town and endowed, without restriction, with the rights of self-government, like other towns. The state still evinced its peculiar interest in this people by continuing its pecuniary aid in the support of the public schools and highways.

Another Sandwich citizen, Thomas Tupper, labored devotedly for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the natives of the soil. His field seems to have been along the head of Buzzard's Bay and the region of Herring Pond. The first substantial church erected in Sandwich was one built for the Herring Pond Indians, through Mr. Tupper's instrumentality, and to the expense of which Judge Samuel Sewall of Boston contributed liberally.*

There never was an exact and reliable enumeration of the whole number of the Cape Indians, until near the close of the eighteenth century. The accounts of the number of

*The foundation of this structure and traces of Indian graves nearby are visible on a sporadic hill, not far from the Bournedale railroad station.

"praying Indians" in the county, reported to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, is liable to the suspicion of being colored by the not unnatural desire to make this part of the field of labor appear as extensive and important in the eyes of the parent society, as a favorable view of the circumstances would admit. This view was fortified by the willingness of many of the natives to sustain a nominal connection with the whites in religious and secular matters, for the resulting advantages, without being very strongly impressed by the spiritual phase of the matter.

According to an account given by Mr. Richard Bourne to Mr. Gookin, in 1674, there were of praying Indians "at *Meshaun*, i. e. Provincetown and Truro, and at *Punonakanit*, Wellfleet, 72; at *Potanumaquat*, Eastham, 44; at *Monamoyick*, Chatham, 71; at *Sawkatucket*, Brewster, *Nobsquassett*, Dennis, *Mattakees*, Yarmouth and East Barnstable, 122; at *Mashpee* and several places adjoining, 117; at *Poscoqutt*, Sandwich, *Wawayontat*, Warcham, and *Sokanes*, Falmouth, 36." To this, Mr. Cotton adds *Kitteaumut*, another part of Sandwich, 40. Among the Indians on Mr. Bourne's plantation at Mashpee were 142 who could read the Indian language, 9 who could read English, and 72 who were taught to write.

In the year 1685, Gov. Thomas Hinckley transmitted to England an account of these praying Indians in Plymouth colony, by which it is found that there were nearly 1,000 of them within the limits of the county of Barnstable, classified as follows, with their tribe and teachers:

Pamet, Billingsgate, (Nausett), alias Eastham, (Great Tom, teacher),	264
Manomoyett, (Indian Nicholas),	165
Saquetucket and Nobscusset, (Manasseh),	121
Mattakeese, (Jeremy Robin),	70

Skauton, (Simon Wickett),	51
Mashpey, (Shanks, under Mr. Bourne),	141
Manamet, (Charles, under Mr. Tupper),	110
Succannessett, (Old John),	72
Other places, (not in the county),	495

"Besides boys and girls under 12, which are supposed to be three times as many. None were accounted praying Indians unless they publicly renounced their former heathenish manners, and gave themselves up to be praying Indians."

Gov. Hinckley says, "They have their courts and judges; but a great obstruction to bringing them to more civility and christianity, is the great appetite the younger generation have for strong liquors, and the covetous ill-humor of sundry of our English in furnishing them therewith, notwithstanding all the court orders and means used to prohibit the same." The number of Indians who were not enumerated among the "praying," or christianized Indians, there is no means of determining, with anything approaching accuracy. If half were of this description, and, allowing for children under 12, the entire native population must have been two or three thousand souls.

Besides Mr. Bourne and Mr. Tupper, who were the leading pioneers in the work of civilizing and evangelizing the Indians, Rev. Samuel Treat of Eastham and Rev. Thomas Thornton of Yarmouth, labored with great zeal, devotion and considerable results, in the same direction. Mr. Thornton labored through the native teachers, and his labors were crowned with a large measure of success. Mr. Treat engaged with earnestness in the work, and prosecuted it with zeal during a great number of years. In Gov. Hinckley's enumeration, already adverted to, five hundred of the praying Indians were comprised in Mr. Treat's

parish, besides boys and girls, who were supposed to be more than three times that number. He preached to the Indians in their own language, which he spoke with great facility. The Indian teachers in their several villages read to their congregations sermons which he had written for them, and he translated the Confession of Faith into the Nauset language, for the edification of his converts. But all these efforts did not save them from disease and decay, and year by year their numbers diminished, until the Nauset tribe disappeared from the face of the earth.

It would hardly be fair to assume, as is sometimes done, that the decay of the Indian race is due to contact with civilized life, since, before the European nations had found a lodgment here or the natives had made more than a nominal acquaintance with the new comers, their decline had commenced, and through pestilence and privation the mortality of the race had become rapid and beyond the power of man to check. Their decadence, after this, was never so great as before, and it seems more probable that contact with civilization, with the comforts and ameliorations of their condition, retarded, rather than helped forward, the decay of the aboriginal races, which, from the first, appears to have been inevitable. In the order of Providence they seem to have been doomed to extinction, and the precepts and examples of christianity were powerless to avert their impending fate. The love of the Indian for intoxicating liquors has many times been enlarged upon, but it does not entirely account for their decay. The English consumed vastly more alcoholic drinks than the Indians, their means of procuring it being greater, but they grew and prospered, in spite of this drawback. The ministers exhorted against their appetite in this regard, to the great disgust many times of their auditors. Mr. Stone, the Provincetown preacher,

felt that he had a mission to exhort the Indians on this subject. One of the Mashpee Indians, to whom he preached on exchange, was asked how he liked Mr. Stone? He answered, "Mr. Stone is one very good preacher, but he preach too much about rum. Indian think nothing about it; but when he tells how Indian love rum, and how much they drink, then I think how good it is, and think no more 'bout the sermon, my mouth waters all the time so much for rum." The use of spirituous liquors easily overcame them, but Anglo-Saxons were hard drinkers, and survived, and had sufficient self-control to become in the end comparative abstainers. In effect, it will be found that the vices which overmastered the natives were resolutely overcome by the English, and that under precisely the same conditions the natives decayed and the newcomers flourished, and became powerful and prosperous. It was a trial of races and civilizations, and in the end the fittest survived.

This view of the question need not be regarded as depreciating the efforts and aims, nor the mission of Richard Bourne, Thomas Tupper, Revs. Thornton, Treat, and the other evangelists, who labored for the spiritual interests of the Indian races. There has seldom been exhibited on this continent so fine an example of devotion, of sacrifice and of entire and unselfish consecration to a great and beneficent end, as the life-work of Richard Bourne. He saw before him, not a feeble and decaying race,—he indulged in no generalizations about the end of Providence in planting the aborigines on these shores; but recognizing, according to his creed, the immortal destinies and the spiritual needs of these men, he at once devoted his life to their service. His work and character were conspicuous in this field of effort. The other evangelists, in the same spirit, though in a less marked degree, continued the work. That they did not

avert the impending extinction of the race, is no impeachment of their sagacity nor of their unselfish devotion to the work. They failed, not because their efforts lacked intelligence and self-consecration, but because destiny and the laws of the universe, hidden for the time from them, were working out a different result.

Mr. Bourne's superiority to his contemporaries is evinced by his administrative abilities displayed in the organization of the District of Mashpee. His worldly sagacity was shown in insisting upon setting apart for the natives a portion of the soil of their ancestors, which should not be alienated and which should be sacredly secured to them and their descendants. This condition was observed long after the last pure Indian was extinct. No better spot could be selected than the District of Mashpee, a region of picturesque scenery, diversified by ponds, groves, streams, woodland, its waters abounding in fish, its woods filled with wild game, and its facile soil adapted to the growth of corn and vegetables. To this region, the remnants of the native Indians from other parts of the county resorted, as to a sanctuary, when driven by an advancing civilization from their primitive retreats. And to this community, founded by the foresight of Richard Bourne, the Indian owes the only recognition which remains for his race within the limits of Barnstable county. The works or institutions of few public men endure longer than their lives or those of their immediate descendants, but those founded by Mr. Bourne have not yet failed to exert their beneficent influence upon the remnants of the Indian race, nor have they faded from the grateful recollections of posterity. He could not avert a doom which was inevitably theirs, but he ameliorated the condition of thousands of the race and rendered more tolerable their lot for many succeeding generations.

The Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England, about the year 1767, sent a committee to Mashpee to inquire into the condition of the Indians there, particularly, and incidentally, those in other parts of Barnstable county. They met at Mashpee, on the communion Sabbath, a house filled with Indian worshippers, and the service was carried on in their own language, by Indian ministers, Solomon Briant, the Mashpee pastor, and Zachary Osooit, the pastor at Gay Head. John Ralph was mentioned as minister at Potenumacut, and Isaac Jephrey at the Ponds in Plymouth. Mr. Hawley, the English pastor at Mashpee, gave the agent of the society some statistics of the numbers of Indian worshippers and of other matters relating to the Indians, which, in comparison with Gov. Hinckley's figures of eighty years before, show how rapid had been the decline of the native population, in spite of all the ameliorating influences of the English missionaries and other friendly aids to advancement in the arts of civilized life. At that time, according to this authority, there were in all about 271 inhabitants in Mashpee; in Scauton (East Sandwich) there were nine wigwams, number of inhabitants not stated; at Sacconesset (Falmouth), about 20 who belonged to the meeting. There were six wigwams in Yarmouth, the inhabitants of which belonged to the church and congregation at Potenumacut, "where are a larger number of Indians than at any other place in that neighborhood, besides Mashpee." They also speak of eight Indian families, of about thirty persons, at Pocasset.

From this time the native Indians began again to decay. In Yarmouth, large numbers were carried off by the small pox. Soon after the Revolutionary War their lands were sold, and, in 1797, there were living on the Indian reservation, in the southeasterly part of the town, a negro

and a squaw, occupying one wigwam.* These soon after disappeared. In 1802, there were three Indians remaining in Potenumacut (Orleans), and one in Eastham. These were also destined to speedy extinction.

If the accounts of the latest remnants of the Indian tribes of Yarmouth are not greatly idealized, they were a most interesting and attractive people in their social and moral character. One of their annalists* describes them as living in Arcadian simplicity of life in a little cluster of wigwams in the southeastern part of the town, near Bass River. A suspicious deacon, who was in quest of the despoiler of his poultry yard, in the early morning hours, found the occupants of three wigwams engaged in their morning devotions, and felt humiliated that he should have mistrusted these people. Deacon Nauhaught, their chief character, once found a pocketbook containing a quantity of money, but such were his ideas that he would not open it, nor would he suffer any one else to do so, until he got to a public house. "If I was to do so," said he, "all the trees in the woods would see me and testify against me." The tale which is related of this striking and unique character, when assailed by snakes, though amply re-enforced by the testimony of several white deacons and other veracious authorities, is so apochryphal that the foreign readers may be pardoned for expressing, as they did, some degree of suspicion in relation to it. "This Indian, who was a very athletic man, was once attacked by a large number of black snakes. Being at a considerable distance from any people, and having no weapons about him except what the God of Nature had given him, he knew not what to do. He found it impossible to escape from them by attempting to run. He experienced, however, very little from any fearful

*Alden's Mem. of Yarmouth.

apprehensions on account of his personal safety. He was perfectly self-collected, and thought he would stand firm on his feet and suffer the snakes to take their own course, for a time, without annoyance. They approached him from every direction with elevated heads and tremendous hissing. They soon began to wind themselves about his legs. Presently one of them got up to his neck and seemed to act as if he was attempting to get his head into Nauhaught's mouth. Nauhaught opened his jaws, which were furnished with a noble set of teeth. The snake immediately thrust in its head and the deacon bit it off! a fortunate circumstance, as the result proves; for the blood, streaming from the decapitated leader in the attack, so alarmed the rest of the invading enemy, that Nauhaught was immediately left master of the field!"

There must have been some peculiar influences operating upon the Yarmouth natives to produce such exceptional characters as these. The Mashpee Indians were not described by their contemporaries, as of a heroic type. An account of them, written in 1802, from memoranda communicated by Rev. Mr. Hawley, Dr. Thacher and Dr. Eliot,* places them low in point of morals and character, and implies that the experiment of Mr. Bourne and his successors was a lamentable failure. But the virtues of the one people no more averted the decay of the race in this county, than the vices of the other, contributed to their annihilation. The last Indian of pure strain in Yarmouth died before the beginning of the present century; and the last of the Mashpees departed about the year 1804-5.† The present inhabitants of Mashpee have but little of the aboriginal blood in their veins; the morals of the inhabitants are of a high order, and no people in the country attend

*Mass. Hist. Soc. Col., vol. 8, 1st series.
†Dr. Alden.

with more fidelity than they to the civil duties of the citizen.

For a race once so populous here, it seems strange that no memorials of them remain upon our soil. A few shell-heaps, stone utensils and arrow-heads, scattered over the fields, are all that are left to remind us of their former existence. Even their last resting-places are known in but few instances. In two or three towns, spots known by tradition or other evidence, to have been used as their places of sepulchre, have been enclosed or marked by suitable inscriptions.

CHAPTER XX.

CAPE AUTHORS AND NEWSPAPERS.

Early Writers—Freeman's History of Cape Cod—Other Local Works—Poetry—Fiction—Occasional Writers—The Newspapers of Barnstable County.

PEAKING of our achievements in the field of letters, it may be said that the intelligence and capacity of the people of the Cape have not, heretofore, been evinced so much in what they have said, as in what they have dared and accomplished. The founders of her towns were not usually men of literary taste or acquirements, except her clergy, who ranked well with those of their class in other parts of the colony. It was some time after they had settled the towns, subdued the wild face of nature, and helped to conquer the savage foe, before they turned their attention to scholarship. Then it was that the fisheries on their shores helped to found and maintain the first public grammar school established by the colony. It was, indeed, the chief reliance of that enterprise.

The first of their written compositions which are extant are in the form of sermons, and of these it may be said, that their style was as rugged and forbidding to our present taste, as were the ideas they were intended to convey. In hours of deep affliction the fathers sometimes essayed to woo the muses. The earliest specimen of elegaic verse

preserved, is found in the lines composed on the death of his accomplished wife, by Governor Thomas Hinckley, of which production Mr. Palfrey says, "It breathes not, indeed, the most tuneful spirit of song, but the very tenderest soul of affection."

The earliest books published in this county seem to have been those of Edward Perry of Sandwich, a Friend, between the years 1676 and 1690, and bear the titles, "A Warning to New England;" "To the Court of Plymouth, this is the Word of the Lord;" "A Testimony Concerning the Light;" "Concerning True Repentance," etc. Not more than one copy is known to be in existence.

Dr. John Osborn, born in Sandwich in 1713, a son of Rev. Samuel Osborn, minister for some time of the south precinct of Eastham, wrote a Whaling Song, which has obtained celebrity. It is quite an advance, in literary finish, upon anything preceding it which had been produced by a Cape Cod writer. The opening lines are:

"When spring returns with western gales,
And gentle breezes sweep
The ruffling seas, we spread our sails,
To plough the wat'ry deep.

"For killing northern whales prepared,
Our nimble boats on board,
With craft and rum (our chief regard,)
And good provisions stored."

Then follow sixteen stanzas, which describe, in spirited style, the pursuit, killing and capture of the monsters of the deep.

Rev. Thomas Prince, the distinguished author of New England's Annals and Chronology, a native of Sandwich and a grandson of Governor Hinckley, produced a work of exceeding value. In the opinion of Dr. Chauncy, "No one in New England had more learning except Cotton Mather."

He published other works, though the Annals is esteemed the most important.

James Otis, Jr., called "the patriot," besides being a peerless orator, was the author of several important political treatises, among which may be mentioned his Rights of the Colonies Vindicated, which was styled "a masterpiece of good writing and argument."

Mercy Warren, daughter of Col. James Otis, was born in West Barnstable, Sept. 25, 1728, died in Boston, Oct. 19, 1814. She received her education from Rev. Jonathan Russell, who also fitted her distinguished brother for college. Her feelings were soon enlisted on the side of her father and brother, and her letters, patriotic verses and political satires, throw much light upon the history of the period. She married James Warren of Plymouth, one of the leaders of the Revolutionary party, and was in intimate correspondence with the two Adamses, Thomas Jefferson and other distinguished patriots. In 1790 she published a volume of poems, including two tragedies, entitled "The Sack of Rome," and "The Ladies of Castile." Her most important work, however, was her "History of the American Revolution," (3 volumes, 820, Boston, 1805,) prepared from notes taken during the war, and which is a standard authority with writers on that subject.

Rev. Dr. Samuel West, a native of Yarmouth, for some time a school-master in Barnstable and Falmouth, was renowned for his metaphysical and controversial talents, as well as for his great learning and profound scholarship. "He was," said Dr. Timothy Alden, Jr., "as remarkable for his mental powers, as Dr. Samuel Johnson, the great biographer and moralist. He was supposed to have much resembled him in personal appearance, and with the same literary advantages, would unquestionably have equalled

MERCY WARREN.

From "Mercy Warren," in "Women of Colonial and Revolutionary Times."
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him for reputation in the learned world." He wrote several important tracts during the revolutionary period.

Rev. Dr. Timothy Alden, Jr., a native of Yarmouth and president of Alleghany College, Meadville, Pa., about the middle of the century published the Collection of American Epitaphs, in four volumes, a book which contained a fund of interesting and valuable information.

Rev. James Freeman, D. D., minister of the Stone Chapel, Boston, a native of Truro, contributed, soon after this time, a series of most important papers relating to the history of the towns of the county and published in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. These papers are still quoted and relied upon as authority on the subjects to which they are devoted.

With such a record for enterprise, adventure, patriotism and identification with the great movements of the age as the Cape presents, it would be strange if there were not others of her sons who should attempt to do her honor, or at least justice. In 1858, Rev. Frederick Freeman, of Sandwich, commenced the publication of a History of Cape Cod. The book was finally completed, in two large volumes, and to all time must be the foundation upon which other works of the kind will be based. The difficulties in Mr. Freeman's way were numerous; he had to begin without any considerable previous aid; he was justly emulous of the fame of his illustrious ancestors; and being himself a minister of the church of England, it seemed to some that he did tardy and stinted justice to the Pilgrim and Puritan elements. Some of the important epochs were not written up with the fullness and elaboration of the others. But despite these drawbacks, Mr. Freeman's book will always be quoted, as the first filial attempt of any Cape Cod man to do appropriate honor to the memory of the pioneers and their

successors, and as such should be held in high estimation.

Rev. Enoch Pratt, in 1842, published his history of Eastham, Wellfleet and Orleans. There is much in it which is interesting, unique and worthy of preservation. Mr. Shebnah Rich, in his Truro, Cape Cod, has embodied in an original form, and attractive rhetoric, a mass of important information respecting one of the most interesting towns of the Old Colony. In 1861, Mr. Amos Otis commenced a series of articles in the Barnstable Patriot, respecting the history of the Barnstable Families. Nothing has yet been published which evinces so familiar an acquaintance with the habits, manners, motives and impelling principles of the pioneers of the town as these sketches, by one of their descendants. They will always be referred to as authority on the points which they discuss, and be regarded as a monument to the intelligence, zeal and industry of their author. In 1884, Charles F. Swift published a history of Old Yarmouth, including the towns of Yarmouth and Dennis, in one volume, 283 pages. Mr. Swift has also published a Fourth of July oration, 1858, a continuation of Barnstable Families, several occasional addresses, and contributions to magazines and newspapers, principally on biographical and historical subjects. The sketches of the History of Falmouth up to 1812, by the late Charles W. Jenkins, were issued in a collected form by the Falmouth Local press, in 1889. They were written before so much was known as has since transpired about the early history of the town, and the book is a filial and creditable work. Mr. Josiah Paine of Harwich, who contributed to Blake's Cape Cod the chapters on the history of Harwich and Brewster, has written, with intelligence and discrimination, other important historical papers, for the newspapers and magazines, and has a manuscript collection of great value

regarding old Harwich and its people. Mr. Joshua H. Paine, his brother, has also written an exhaustive unpublished account of the War of 1812 in its relation to Harwich. In 1890, Messrs. H. W. Blake & Co. published a History of Barnstable County, a book of over 1000 pages, copiously illustrated, and handsomely bound and printed. Without being a complete and continuous history, it contains a vast amount of valuable information, and much biographical matter, particularly of contemporary individuals, who contributed the data and were responsible for its dissemination.

In other departments of literary effort the natives of the Cape have somewhat distinguished themselves. The early bards of the county have already been alluded to. Several others remain to be noticed. Daniel Barker Ford, son of Dr. Oliver Ford of Hyannis, who was an apprentice in the Yarmouth Register office about 1842-4, evinced much poetic and rhetorical talent. His best known piece, "A Lay of Cape Cod," was modeled in style and treatment from Whittier's Lays of Labor, and was a most spirited and stirring production. A few of its inspiring lines are quoted:

"Hurrah! for old Cape Cod,
With its sandy hills and low,
Where the waves of ocean thunder,
And the winds of heaven blow;
Where through summer and through winter,
Through sunshine and thro' rain,
The hardy Cape man plies his task
Upon the heaving main.

* * * * *

"Hurrah! for the maids and matrons
That grace our sandy home,
As gentle as the summer breeze,
As fair as ocean's foam;
Whose glances fall upon the heart,
Like sunlight on the waters;

Who're brighter in the festal hall
Than France's brightest daughters."

Dr. Thomas N. Stone of Wellfleet published, in 1869, a volume, entitled Cape Cod Rhymes. He possessed the true poetic temperament, was witty, pathetic, and alive to the sights and scenes of nature around him. He also wrote and delivered felicitous occasional orations and addresses. Asa S. Phinney, also a printer in the office of the Yarmouth Register, in 1845 collected and issued a little pamphlet, Accepted Addresses, etc. There were twenty-four pieces in all, some of which evinced considerable poetic ability. Mr. Phinney was also a frequent and welcome contributor to the Cape newspapers.

Mrs. Frances E. Swift of Falmouth has written for several years for the current magazines and newspapers, under the *nom de plume*, "Fanny Fales." She published, in 1853, Voices of the Heart, and has a large number of superior compositions not yet in collected form. Mrs. Swift is not only an easy and graceful versifier, but has shown a high poetic fancy and a deeper insight into the emotions and feelings of the human heart. We present a single specimen in her reflections upon Longfellow's line, "Into each life some rain must fall":

"If this were all, O if this were all,
That 'Into each life some rain must fall'—
There were fainter sobs in the Poet's rhyme,
There were fewer wrecks on the shores of time.

"But tempests of woe pass over the soul,
Fierce winds of anguish we cannot control;
And shock after shock we are called to bear,
Till the lips are white with the heart's despair.

"O, the shores of time with wrecks are strown,
Unto the ear comes ever a moan,
Wrecks of hopes that sail with glee,
Wrecks of loves sinking silently!

"Many are hidden from mortal eye,
Only God knoweth how deep they lie;
Only God heard when the cry went up;
'Help me! take from me this bitter cup!'

"'Into each life some rain must fall'—
If this were all, O, if this were all!
Yet there is a Refuge from storm and blast,
We may hide in the Rock till the woe is past.

"Be strong! be strong! to my heart I cry,
A pearl in the wounded shell doth lie;
Days of sunshine are given to all,
Though 'Into each life some rain must fall.'"

Prof. Alonzo Tripp, a native of Harwich, wrote in 1853 a book of European travels, entitled, Crests from the Ocean World, which had a sale of 60,000 copies. Afterward he wrote a local novel, entitled The Fisher Boy, which had a large sale, and many appreciative readers. He has since delivered lectures on European events, in almost every considerable place in the country, which have attracted audiences of culture and discrimination.

In fictitious narrative, Rev. N. H. Chamberlain, a native of Sandwich, has published, Autobiography of a New England Farm House, the scenes of which are laid in that part of Sandwich, now Bourne. It is a reproduction, in agreeable and picturesque style, of many local incidents and traditions. He has also written The Sphinx of Aubery Parish, and a volume entitled Samuel Sewell and the World He Lived In, a book of high reputation, also several polemic church pamphlets, book notices, lectures and historical discourses.

Some thirty years ago, Capt. Benjamin F. Bourne, who had been a prisoner in Southern South America, wrote and published a book entitled, The Captive in Patagonia. It was a volume of thrilling interest and had an enormous sale. Even at this day it is frequently called for at the book-

stores, and is read with as much interest as when fresh from the press.

Charles F. Chamberlayne, Esq., of Bourne, has edited a law book entitled, Best's Principles of the Law of Evidence, which under the name of Chamberlayne's Best, has been adopted as the standard authority in most of the law schools of the country.

Sylvester Baxter, a native of Yarmouth, was for many years one of the staff writers of the Boston Herald. In 1883 and 1884 he went to Mexico, as editor of The Financier of that city, and also correspondent of the Herald. He has contributed considerably for the magazines in the way of essays, poetry, sketches of travel and short stories, and although his writings have not been collected, some of them have appeared in pamphlet form; among them an illustrated description of the Morse Collection of Japanese Pottery, and Berlin; a Study of German Municipal Government; both of them published by the Essex Institute, Salem. Here is one of Mr. Baxter's short poems, from the Atlantic Monthly of October, 1875, entitled "October Days:"

"The maples in the forest glow,
And on the lawn the fall-flowers blaze,
The mild air has a purple haze;
My heart is filled with warmth and glow.

"Like living coals the red leaves burn;
They fall—then turns the red to rust;
They crumble, like the coals, to dust.
Warm heart, must thou to ashes burn?"

Other natives in professional and business life, but not devoted to literature as a pursuit, have contributed valuable writings to the press in their leisure and unengrossed hours. Of these it may be proper to name: Rev. Osborn Myrick of Provincetown, a prolific writer to the county newspapers;

Frederick W. Crocker of Barnstable, who wrote several witty poems of high literary merit for occasional meetings and public gatherings; Frederick W. Crosby of Barnstable, a writer of political papers, sketches, essays and stories in the leading Boston and New York journals, whose career was prematurely cut short in the most useful period of his life; Benjamin Dyer, Jr., of Truro, an officer in the volunteer navy, who evinced a high degree of descriptive talent; and E. S. Whittemore, Esq., of Sandwich.

Hon. John B. D. Cogswell of Yarmouth, who touched no subject he did not elucidate and adorn, wrote as an introduction to the Atlas of Barnstable County (1880) an outline of county history, which is a valuable and interesting epitome. He also delivered a number of well-considered, elegantly composed public addresses and lectures, some of which have been published. Matthew Arnold said of him that he was the most gifted man he met in America, forming his judgment from Mr. Cogswell's accomplishment as a conversationalist.

Sidney Brooks, of Harwich, was also a writer of intelligence and great enthusiasm upon local history and topographical description. Rev. John W. Dodge, has composed hymns and discourses which are always of interest from their scholarship and literary finish. Capt. Thomas P. Howes, of Dennis, has produced sea sketches, historical portraitures, and vivid descriptions of travel and adventure, which if collected in a volume would meet with rapid and extensive appreciation. Mrs. Mary M. Bray, a native of Yarmouth, whose 250th anniversary poem there has met such universal admiration, wrote before and since some graceful poems and sketches of distant places, for the journals of the day. Miss Gertrude Alger, a young poet of merit, who early in life passed into the spiritual world, has produced some graceful and finished poems, one or two of

which have found their place in the current collections of contemporaneous poetry. Hon. Henry A. Scudder and Hon. George Marston, of Barnstable, better known as lawyers, also delivered addresses and orations which commanded attention from their style and treatment of important public questions. Philip H. Sears, Esq., a native of Dennis, has delivered several public addresses, one of the most important of which, on the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the settlement of Old Yarmouth, was a finished and thoughtful presentation of the subject. Azariah Eldridge, D. D., of Yarmouth, besides his pulpit discourses, wrote several public addresses which have commanded the attention of thoughtful readers and thinkers. A memorial volume, containing a brief memoir of Doctor Eldridge, by C. F. Swift, Rev. Mr. Dodge's sermon at his obsequies and various letters and notices by personal friends, was prepared for private circulation, under the direction of Mrs. Eldridge.

Two school books which had a high reputation in their day, were prepared by old-time Cape teachers. Rev. Jonathan Burr, of Sandwich, pastor of the First church and preceptor of Sandwich Academy, about the close of the last century was the author of a Compendium of English Grammar, which occupied a leading position in the schools in this portion of the state for many years. Capt. Zenas Weeks, of Marston's Mills, a prominent man in his day, a school teacher and music teacher, was the author of a text book on English grammar, issued about the year 1833.

In 1854, Mrs. A. M. Richards, a daughter of Capt. Benjamin Hallet of Osterville, wrote a volume of 140 pages, which was published by Gould & Lincoln, Boston, entitled Memoirs of a Grandmother; by a Lady of Massachusetts. It was an autobiography, and contained

graphic sketches of incidents and individuals, some of whom are well known to the public. Interspersed in the narrative are a number of metrical compositions of a high order of poetical merit.

In 1888, a volume entitled, Biographical Sketch of Sylvanus B. Phinney, was issued on the 80th anniversary of his birthday. The volume contains a sketch of his life, letters from Revs. Edward E. Hale and A. Nickerson, and public addresses and papers prepared by Mr. Phinney.

Joseph Story Fay, Esq., of Wood's Hole, published in 1878 a little monograph entitled, The Track of the Norsemen, in which he very ingeniously argues that these Scandinavian navigators visited the locality since known as Wood's Hole, and that the proper name of the locality is Wood's Holl (meaning hill), which name, through his efforts, it some time bore. Mr. Fay, who was an enthusiastic arborator, as well as a gentleman of literary tastes and pursuits, has delivered among others, addresses relating to his experiences in planting and rearing forest trees on his estate at Wood's Hole.

Rev. J. G. Gammons issued in 1888, a monograph of the Methodist Episcopal church of Bourne, which sketches the rise and growth of Methodism, and preserves many interesting reminiscences of the pioneers of this sect on Cape Cod and elsewhere, especially in the town of Bourne.

A Genealogy of the Burgess family, from Thomas Burgess, who settled in Sandwich in 1637, to the year 1865, was issued at that date, by E. Burgess of Dedham. It was a private edition, printed for the author, and contained 196 pages and has over 4,600 names of the family and branches, with several lithographic portraits.

George Eldridge, of Chatham, in 1880 published a work of Sailing Directions for Navigators, followed by other

editions in 1884 and 1886. In 1889 he published Eldridge's Tide and Current Book. These publications, together with Mr. Eldridge's charts, are the most valuable works of the class extant, and are looked upon as standard authority by navigators, and adopted by the naval authorities of the country.

Mr. Gustavus A. Hinckley has reproduced for publication in the Barnstable Patriot, the inscriptions on the ancient grave-stones in the old Barnstable cemetery, engraving the blocks very neatly with his own hand, and compiling information to accompany the cuts. He has also compiled a manuscript History of Barnstable in the Civil War.

In 1866, Mrs. Caroline (Thacher) Perry, of Yarmouth, collected a volume of short stories which she had contributed to the New Church Magazine for Children, and they were published, with illustrations, by Nichols & Noyes, of Boston, under the title, Effie Gray and other Short Stories for Little Children. These stories possessed the rare merit in juvenile literature of interesting the class of readers for which they were designed.

Rev. Dr. William H. Ryder, a native of Provincetown, who deceased in Chicago, where he settled in 1888, was a pulpit orator of eloquence and power, and wrote some able articles for the Universalist Quarterly. His writings, however, have not appeared in a collected form.

Heman Doane, of Eastham, has written a number of metrical compositions, a few of which have been published, and which possess a good degree of poetic fancy and facility of versification. One of them, on the Ancient Pear Tree in Eastham, planted by Governor Prince, attracted the attention of Thoreau, who quoted freely therefrom.

"Two hundred years have, on the wings of time,
Passed with their joys and woes, since thou, Old Tree!

Put forth thy first leaves in this foreign clime,
Transplanted from the soil beyond the sea.

* * * * * *

"That exiled band long since have passed away,
And still Old Tree thou standest in the place
Where Prince's hand did plant thee, in his day,—
An undesigned memorial of his race
And time; of those our honored fathers, when
They came from Plymouth o'er and settled here;
Doane, Higgins, Snow and other worthy men,
Whose names their sons remember to revere."

James Gifford, of Provincetown, has prepared and delivered public addresses which have attracted attention by their felicity of style and fullness of information. That delivered at the dedication of the Provincetown new town hall, in the fall of 1866, was published and read with interest and appreciation. Levi Atwood, of Chatham, has written considerably upon local matters. He published, in 1876, a condensed history of Chatham, occupying several columns of small newspaper type, written in an appreciative and discriminating spirit. Nathaniel Hinckley, of Marston's Mills, besides writing much and ably for the newspapers, and delivering public addresses, has published several political pamphlets, of considerable argumentative force.

Not only has Cape Cod furnished a considerable contribution of the best literature to the world, but it has been provocative of a good deal of interesting writing from others, in respect to its characteristics, both mental and physical. It is scarcely to be wondered at, that a community so peculiarly situated as this should attract attention and excite curiosity. In 1807, an Englishman named Kendall visited these parts and published a book, in which he devoted a liberal share of space to this county. Although it contained nothing very striking, it embodied some interesting and curious information respecting the Cape, at that day,

when intercourse with the world was quite infrequent to the mass of the people.

About 1821, Dr. Timothy Dwight, former president of Yale College, published his Travels in New England, in four volumes, a liberal space being devoted to Cape Cod. His book was full of information, and appreciative in that part devoted to the Cape. At a later period, N. P. Willis wrote for a New York newspaper, and afterward embodied in a book, a series of lively, touch-and-go letters, dealing more particularly with the outward aspect of the Cape. Some of his strictures gave offence and others were more agreeable to the popular taste. Though not profound, this book was exceedingly suggestive and entertaining.

Of all the numerous publications of this nature ever issued from the press, Thoreau's Cape Cod is by far the best, as a literary production, and for genuine appreciation of the grand physical aspects of the Cape, and of the true qualities of its people. Thoreau had a keen relish for quaint and curious phases of character as well as of landscape, and his pictures of the "Wellfleet oystermen" and of other original people revealed the presence among us of striking personalities. His admiration of the Cape is genuine, and his closing page records his conviction that "the time must come when this coast will be a place of resort for all those who wish to visit the seaside. * * * What are springs and waterfalls? Here is the spring of springs and the waterfall of waterfalls. * * * A man may stand there and put all America behind him."

It only remains to remark that the paternal parent of John Howard Payne, the author of "Home, Sweet Home," was of Cape Cod origin, and that Harvey Birch, the prototype of Cooper's "Spy," originated in Harwich, his real name being Enoch Crosby, and his actual experience

being matched by all the incidents recounted in this most characteristic of the author's works. Though not himself the creator of one of the most striking personalities in modern fiction, he was, what is still better, the original of this most prominent character.

The newspapers of the Cape have been many, and more ability has been embodied in their publication than has always found appreciation — of a pecuniary nature. The first newspaper published in the county was issued at Falmouth, November 21, 1823, by W. E. P. Rogers, under the name of The Nautical Intelligencer. It was issued weekly, at two dollars per year. In addition to the newspaper, the publishers issued, twice each week, extras containing the marine news and important arrivals at Holmes's Hole, for transmission to Boston. The paper also indulged in political speculations, being a strong adherent of Mr. Calhoun for President, for the reasons, among others, that he was "an enlightened friend of Internal Improvements and Domestic Manufactures." This eulogy sounds oddly enough in view of his subsequent course. The paper was printed on a sheet 18 by 25 inches, with four pages, containing four columns each, 16 inches in length. In its first issue there was not a single item of local news except deaths, marriages and ship-news, and it contained twelve advertisements. It did not continue in existence long — probably not more than a year and a half.

Removing his printing and material to Barnstable, Mr. Rogers, on April 13, 1825, commenced the publication of the Barnstable County Gazette. The Gazette had one more column on each page than its predecessor, and a rather larger advertising patronage. It paid more attention to local news; but that was not a newspaper reading age, and its

publication was continued not over two years, so far as can now be ascertained.

In 1826, the Barnstable Journal was commenced by Nathaniel S. Simpkins. It was a six-column newspaper, containing a few paragraphs of local news, considerable shipping intelligence, and liberal extracts from the Boston and New York newspapers, also miscellany and moral readings. The Journal attained a good circulation. In 1832 Mr. Simpkins sold out the establishment to H. Underwood and C. C. P. Thompson, who published, for one year, also a semi-weekly paper called the Cape Cod Journal. In 1834 Mr. Underwood became the sole proprietor of the weekly, which in 1837 again passed into the hands of Mr. Simpkins, who removed the plant to Yarmouth, and established the Register.

The Barnstable Patriot was established by S. B. Phinney, in 1830, and was conducted by him until 1869, when he sold out to Franklin B. Goss and George H. Richards. Subsequently the whole establishment was acquired by Mr. Goss, who now conducts it, in connection with his son, F. Percy Goss. The Patriot, during Mr. Phinney's connection with it, was an active and aggressive democratic sheet. Some time after Mr. Goss's assumption of the management, it espoused the republican cause, in which it still maintains a lively interest. During Mr. Phinney's proprietorship of the newspaper, Hon. Henry Crocker was a frequent editorial contributor, mostly of political articles. The Patriot is now the oldest journal in the county. In 1851, the Sandwich Mechanic was for one year issued at the Patriot office.

Dec. 15, 1836, the first number of the Yarmouth Register was issued by N. S. Simpkins, publisher. The plant had been purchased by Messrs. John Reed, Amos Otis, N. S. Simpkins, Ebenezer Bacon and Edward B. Hallet. Mr.

Simpkins was assisted in the editorship by contributions from Messrs. Caleb S. Hunt and Amos Otis. The paper, besides being a local journal, was designed to champion the cause of Hon. John Reed, the member of congress from this district, and to oppose the Jackson and Van Buren dynasty, which was rather obnoxious in this county. The controversies with the Barnstable Patriot, which folllowed, were exceedingly bitter and personal, on both sides. In 1839, Mr. Simpkins retired from the management of the paper and was succeeded by William S. Fisher, who was a printer by profession, and who infused considerable vigor into its management. In 1846, the present proprietor, Charles F. Swift, became connected with the management of the Register, as co-partner with Mr. Fisher, and in 1849 became sole editor and publisher. During the last fifty years the conduct of the paper has been in his hands, with assistance successively by his four sons, Francis M., Frederick C., Theodore W., and Charles W. Swift. The Register, which was originally a whig journal, and supported Webster, Clay, Taylor and Scott for the presidency, had always been strongly anti-slavery in its proclivities, and, in 1857, warmly espoused the cause of the republicans, which it has ever since supported, with earnestness and without reservation. The Register has also paid much attention to questions of social reform and general and local history.

The Sandwich Observer was first issued in September, 1845, by George Phinney. It was a 24-column folio, 24 by 36 inches, and was devoted to general and local news. Dr. John Harper and C. B. H. Fessenden were special contributors to its columns. The Observer attained a fair patronage, being neutral in politics and having the support of all the political parties, but the field was at best a limited one, and in August, 1851, Mr. Phinney removed his

establishment to North Bridgewater (now Brockton), where he founded the Gazette of that town.

A monthly newspaper, called the Cape Cod News, was issued in Provincetown, though printed elsewhere, the first number bearing date of June, 1856, A. S. Dudley and Rufus Conant, publishers. But few numbers were issued.

The Provincetown Banner was issued in 1855, by John W. Emery, editor and proprietor. It was a 24-column journal, republican in politics, somewhat radical in its tone. It was published until 1862, when it was discontinued and the material removed from town.

In August, 1857, the Atlantic Messenger was established at Hyannis, by Edwin Coombs. It was a 24-column journal, 21 by 20 inches, price $1.00 per year. It was devoted to anti-slavery, politics and social discussions. It was once or twice discontinued and started again. But the encouragement received by the proprietor was not sufficient to sustain the enterprise, and the concluding number was issued about the year 1863.

January 2, 1862, the first number of the Cape Cod Republican was issued at Harwich, by John W. Emery, formerly of the Provincetown Banner, the printing office of which journal had been removed for the purpose. It was in style and make-up similar to the Banner. In 1864, Mr. Emery returned to Harwich and started the Harwich Press, a paper similar to the Republican. In less than a year he abandoned the field, and removed to Minnesota. The list of the Press was sold to the proprietor of the Yarmouth Register.

The Provincetown Advocate was issued in 1869, by F. Percy Goss, publisher. Dr. J. M. Crocker was editor for about seven years, when Mr. Goss assumed the editorial charge, and conducted the paper for three years longer. In

1879, H. H. Sylvester, recently of the Boston Record, purchased an interest in the paper and conducted it for a year, disposing of his interest to N. T. Freeman, who acquired Mr. Goss's interest also. In December, 1886, the establishment was purchased by Howard F. Hopkins, who has since been its publisher. His brother, Judge James H. Hopkins, edited the sheet until his lamented death.

In November, 1870, the Provincetown News, a 32-column republican newspaper, was issued by J. H. Barnard & Co., with J. Howard Barnard, editor. The price of the paper was $2.50 per year, in advance; $3.00 after three months. At the end of four months the enterprise was given up, and the list transferred to other newspapers.

The Chatham Monitor was first issued October 1, 1871, at the Patriot office, Dr. Benjamin D. Gifford being the editor. It was devoted to local and general news, and was republican in politics. In 1873, Levi Atwood assumed the editorship. Mr. Atwood had previously been a contributor to other county journals, and was well known as a writer of pith and vigor. The Monitor is still continued under his editorship.

The Cape Cod Bee was issued in 1880, at the Patriot office, F. Percy Goss, publisher. It is a local journal and is republican in its politics.

About 1872, Messrs. J. H. Nichols and William C. Spring started the Sandwich Gazette, which was afterwards merged with the Falmouth Chronicle, which Mr. Spring had started in 1872. Henry Jones was the Falmouth editor. Mr. Spring for some time continued the paper, under the style of Gazette and Chronicle. In October, 1873, F. S. Pope took the plant of the Chronicle, and established the Seaside Press, devoted to the local interests of Sandwich and Falmouth. J. H. Stevens was editor, and Mr. Jones

continued in charge of the Falmouth department. In 1880, Mr. Pope sold his interest to F. H. Burgess, who changed the name to Weekly Review, with Benjamin Cook as editor for a time. In 1884, Mr. Burgess sold his interest to George Otis, and the list was merged with the Cape Cod Item.

The Harwich Independent was established in 1872, by Goss & Richards, of the Patriot, the paper being printed in Barnstable. The local department was put in type at a job office which the publishers had set up in Harwich. The editorial writing for the first few years was by Mr. Wilcox, Josiah Paine and Dr. Geo. N. Munsell. In 1880, Alton P. Goss purchased the establishment, added a press and other machinery, and put the paper on a prosperous basis. The leanings of the paper are towards republicanism, but the Independent is more especially a local journal, in which field it has achieved a good degree of success.

The Cape Cod Item was started July 11, 1878, at Yarmouthport, by George Otis. It was gradually enlarged to an 8-page journal, issuing a single or double supplement a portion of the year. It was at first devoted to local and general news. In 1889, William P. Reynolds, Esq., was associated with Mr. Otis in the editorship, and the paper, which was discontinued in the spring of 1893, after being issued a few weeks as a daily, has been revived, and is now published weekly at the Barnstable Patriot office.

The Mayflower was a miscellaneous and story journal, published by George Otis of the Item, from 1881 to 1889. It had a large circulation, but the price—50 cents per year—was inadequate to the cost of production, and its list was merged in the Yankee Blade, of Boston, in June, 1887. The Ocean Wave, an 8-page weekly, was issued by George Otis from October, 1888, to May, 1889.

The Sandwich Observer (the second publication by that name) was issued in 1884, being printed at the Patriot office, and edited by Ambrose E. Pratt of Sandwich. Mr. Pratt was succeeded, about 1887, by Frank O. Ellis, and he by Mr. W. H. Heald, who still has charge of the publication. It is more especially devoted to the interests of the towns of Sandwich and Bourne, and is republican in politics.

The Falmouth Local was established by Lewis F. Clarke, who issued the first number, March 11, 1886. It was a three-column folio, printed one page at a time on a job press in the building of the Continenal shoe store. At the close of 1887 it had been enlarged, since which time it was for a while edited by Ambrose E. Pratt and George S. Hudson. In 1890 it was merged in the Cape Cod Independent.

The Cape Cod Independent was first issued in Falmouth in 1890. It was edited for several months as an advocate of "Tariff Reform" and as a local journal, under the editorship of Rev. N. H. Chamberlain; and was afterwards conducted as a local newspaper, by R. P. Fernald, Chas. F. Adams, Stuart P. West, and Charles S. Burgess, until March, 1895.

The Independent, Sandwich and Bourne, was at first an edition of the Cape Cod Independent, Falmouth. Since Jan. 12, 1895, it has been published by H. L. Chipman of Sandwich. Upon the suspension of the Cape Cod Independent, under that title, in 1895, this paper was continued, and is therefore, the successor of the Cape Cod Independent and Falmouth Local. Its circulation is chiefly in Sandwich, Bourne and Mashpee.

The Barnstable County Journal was issued for four years from January, 1886, by James B. Cook. It was a 32-column folio, published at $1.50 a year. In politics it was

democratic—the only newspaper of that faith in the county of Barnstable. The plant was sold to C. F. Swift & Son.

February 17, 1887, William R. Farris, George R. Phillips and Charles H. Crowell issued the first number of the Cape Cod News, at South Yarmouth. It was a small twenty-column paper, devoted to local intelligence. In July, 1888, the list was sold to George Otis and absorbed by the Item.

Two later candidates for the favor of newspaper readers—the Wellfleet News and the Sandwich Review were issued November 12, 1889, by the proprietor of the Item. They were 8-page papers, devoted to miscellany and the local news of the respective towns. The News was written up by Mrs. A. H. Rogers and the Review by N. E. Linekin. They had a brief existence.

The Provincetown Beacon, an 8-page, 24 column newspaper, was first issued August 2, 1890, by Charles W. Swift, its general editor and proprietor. H. A. Jennings was the local editor and reporter until Dec. 27, 1890, when he was succeeded by Richard F. Gardner, who in turn was succeeded, May 16, 1891, by John N. Swift, who has since continued in that relation. Mr. Swift's accounts of marine incidents and shipwrecks have been advantageously compared to the sea narratives of W. Clark Russell, and his general reports are very full and accurate. The Beacon is a local journal with republican proclivities.

In 1896 the plant of the Independent was purchased by Charles S. Burgess, who in April of 1895, had first issued the Falmouth Enterprise, which Mr. Burgess has since continued to publish, and which paper is now the only one published and printed in Falmouth. It is a local journal, without political affiliations.

CHAPTER XXI.

POPULATION, CIVIL LISTS, SOCIETIES, ETC.

Estimates and Early Enumerations—Eleven Decennial Censuses—United States Officials—Judicial Officers—County Officials—County Societies—Financial and Banking Institutions—Other Societies.

STATISTICS OF POPULATION.

THERE has been no systematic enumeration of the inhabitants of the Cape Cod towns from the time of settlement, until 1765. A list of those between the ages of 16 and 60, able to bear arms in the three townships of the Cape, in 1643, gave 51 in Sandwich, 60 in Barnstable, 52 in Yarmouth. These must have embraced at least one-quarter of the inhabitants, which would make the population of those towns at that time about as follows:

Sandwich,	51	204
Barnstable,	60	240
Yarmouth,	52	208
	163	652

A manuscript in the British Museum contains an enumeration of the houses of "all the trading towns and ports upon the sea and navigable rivers" in New England, in 1675. There were 1,300 such houses in Plymouth colony. Of these 100 were in Sandwich, 150 in Yarmouth, 100 in Nauset, 150 in Barnstable, making 500 in the Cape

towns. Allowing 6 persons to each house—and large families were then the rule—would give 600 people to Sandwich, 900 to Yarmouth, 600 to Nauset, 900 to Barnstable—3,000 to the entire Cape.

The first census of Massachusetts was taken by order of Gov. Bernard, in 1765. The report of the population of the 11 towns of Barnstable county was as follows: Barnstable, 2,008; Chatham, 678; Eastham, 1,327; Falmouth, 1,063; Harwich, 1,681; District of Mashpee, 108; Provincetown, 454; Sandwich, 1,376; Truro, 924; Wellfleet, 917; Yarmouth, 1,740. Total, 12,376.

Following is the result of the eleven decennial censuses of the United States, for the towns of the County of Barnstable:

Years,	1790.	1800.	1810.	1820.	1830.	1840.
Barnstable,	2610	2964	3646	3824	3974	4301
Brewster,			1112	1285	1418	1522
Chatham,	1140	1351	1334	1630	2150	2334
Dennis,		1408	1739	1907	2317	2942
Eastham,	1834	659	751	766	970	955
Falmouth,	1637	1882	2237	2370	2548	2589
Harwich,	2302	2857	1942	1980	2453	2930
Mashpee,	308	155	139	150	000	309
Orleans,		1095	1248	1543	1789	1974
Provincetown,	454	812	936	1252	1710	2122
Sandwich,	1991	2024	2382	2484	3361	3719
Truro,	1193	1152	1209	1241	1547	1920
Wellfleet,	1117	1207	1402	1472	2046	2377
Yarmouth,	2678	1727	2134	2252	2251	2554
	17,354	19,293	22,211	24,026	28,514	32,548

Years,	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.
Barnstable,	4901	5129	4793	4242	4023
Bourne,					1442
Brewster,	1525	1489	1259	1144	1003
Chatham,	2439	2710	2411	2250	1954
Dennis,	3257	3662	3269	3288	2809
Eastham,	845	779	668	602	602
Falmouth,	2621	2456	2237	2422	2567
Harwich,	3258	3423	3080	3265	2734
Mashpee,	000	322	348	346	208
Orleans,	1848	1678	1523	1294	1219
Provincetown,	3157	3206	3865	4346	4642
Sandwich,	4303	4479	3694	3543	1819
Truro,	2051	1583	1269	1017	919
Wellfleet,	2411	2322	2135	1875	1291
Yarmouth,	2595	2752	2423	2173	1760
	35,276	35,000	32,774	31,897	29,172

REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS.

Since the adoption of the national constitution the following persons, resident in the county of Barnstable, have been chosen representatives in the federal congress:

Shearjashub Bourne of Barnstable, 2d and 3d congresses, 1791 to 1795.

Nathaniel Freeman, Sandwich, 4th and 5th congresses, 1795 to 1799.

Isaiah L. Green, Barnstable, 9th and 10th congresses, 1805 to 1809, and 12th congress, 1811-12.

John Reed, Yarmouth, 13th and 14th congresses, 1813 to 1817, and 17th to 26th congresses, inclusive, 1823 to 1841.

Zeno Scudder, Barnstable, 32d congress, 1851 to 1853. Elected to the 32d congress, but resigned before taking his seat.

John Simpkins, Yarmouth, 54th and 55th congresses, 1895 to 1899.

COLLECTORS OF CUSTOMS.

No record exists, so far as known, of the customs officers of the county of Barnstable, prior to the Revolution. The first customs office in the county, after the throwing off of the British rule, was established in 1776, under the title of "naval officer," Joseph Otis being the appointee. William Taylor succeeded him in 1779. Samuel Taylor was in office in 1789. By an act of congress of 1789 the office of collector of customs was created, and the following persons have since been incumbents:

Joseph Otis, appointed Aug. 3, 1789, and he held the position until March 21, 1809—19 years and 7 months.

William Otis, who was appointed March 23, 1809, and held it until Feb. 20, 1814—4 years and 11 months.

Isaiah L. Green, from Feb. 21, 1814, to March 31, 1837 —23 years and 1 month.

Henry Crocker, from April 1, 1837, to March 22, 1841 —3 years, 11 months.

Ebenezer Bacon, from March 23, 1841, to March 31, 1845; and from June 10, 1849, to March 31, 1853—7 years, 10 months.

Josiah Hinckley, from April 1, 1845, to April 3, 1847— 2 years.

Sylvanus B. Phinney, from April 4, 1847, to June 7, 1849; from April 1, 1853, to June 30, 1861; and from Nov. 11, 1866, to March 4, 1867—10 years, 8 months.

Joseph M. Day, from July 1, 1861, to Nov. 11, 1861—4 months.

Charles F. Swift, from Nov. 12, 1861, to Nov. 10, 1866; and from March 17, 1867, to July 7, 1876—14 years, 3 months.

Walter Chipman (Sp. Dep., acting) from March 5, 1867, to March 16, 1867—11 days.

Franklin B. Goss, from July 8, 1876, to Aug. 8, 1887; and from Aug. 1, 1889, to Feb. 17, 1894—15 years, 7 months.

Van Buren Chase, from Aug. 8, 1887, to Aug. 1, 1889— 2 years.

Thomas C. Day, from Feb. 17, 1894.

EXECUTIVE COUNCILLORS.

From the adoption of the state constitution, to 1840, nine executive councillors were annually chosen by joint ballot of the legislature, from among "those elected as senators and councillors," but in case any so chosen should not accept, the vacancies were provided to be filled by choice from the people at large. Under that rule, Braddock

Dimmick of Falmouth, and Elijah Swift of Falmouth, had been chosen prior to 1840. By the Thirteenth amendment, promulgated that year, councillors were, until 1857, chosen from the people at large, and Seth Crowell of Dennis, Solomon Davis of Truro, and John Kenrick of Orleans were, under that provision, severally incumbents of the office. In 1858 the state was divided into eight districts for councillors, to be elected by the people, and the Cape since that time has formed a portion of the First district. The following persons from Barnstable county have, during that period, served as councillors: 1860, Charles F. Swift, Yarmouth; 1869-1871, Marshall S. Underwood, Dennis; 1875-1878, Joseph K. Baker, Dennis; 1888-1892, Isaac N. Keith of Bourne.

SENATORS.

From 1780, when the state constitution took effect, to 1840, the county of Barnstable was entitled to a senator each year. Their names and terms of service to 1840 were as follows: 1780 to 1786, Solomon Freeman, Harwich; 1787, Thomas Smith, Sandwich; 1789 to 1796, inclusive, Solomon Freeman, Harwich; 1797, David Thacher, Yarmouth; 1798-1799, Solomon Freeman, Harwich; 1801-1803, John Dillingham, Harwich; 1804, Richard Sears, Chatham; 1805, John Dillingham, Harwich; 1806-1807, James Freeman, Sandwich; 1808-1810, Braddock Dimmick, Falmouth; 1811, Timothy Phinney, Barnstable; 1813-1814, Wendell Davis, Sandwich; 1815-1820, Solomon Freeman, Brewster; 1821-1822, Elijah Cobb of Brewster; 1823-1825, Braddock Dimmick, Falmouth; 1826-1827, Nymphas Marston, Barnstable; 1828-1830, Elisha Pope, Sandwich; 1831-1833, John Doane, Orleans; 1834-1839, Charles Marston, Barnstable.

By the terms of the Thirteenth amendment to the constitution, promulgated in 1840 the county for the next seventeen years was entitled to two senators, from the year 1841. Their names and terms of service were: 1841, Charles Marston, Barnstable, Seth Crowell, Dennis; 1842, Seth Crowell, Dennis, Solomon Davis, Truro; 1843, Solomon Davis, Truro, John B. Dillingham, Sandwich; 1844, Solomon Davis, Truro, John B. Dillingham, Sandwich; 1845, Solomon Davis, John B. Dillingham; 1846, Zeno Scudder, Barnstable, Barnabas Freeman, Eastham; 1847, Zeno Scudder, Barnstable, Barnabas Freeman, Eastham; 1848, Zeno Scudder, Barnstable, George Copeland, Brewster; 1849, George Copeland, Brewster, John Jenkins, Falmouth; 1850, John Jenkins, Stephen Hilliard, Provincetown; 1851, Stephen Hilliard, Zenas D. Bassett, Barnstable; 1852, Zenas D. Bassett, Cyrus Weekes, Harwich; 1853, Cyrus Weekes, James B. Crocker, Yarmouth; 1854, James B. Crocker, Robert Y. Paine, Wellfleet; 1855, Sylvester Baxter, Yarmouth, Lewis L. Sellew, Provincetown; 1856, Sylvester Baxter, Alfred Kenrick, Orleans; 1857, Charles F. Swift, Yarmouth, John W. Atwood, Chatham.

By the Twenty-seventh amendment, which went into effect in 1858, the state was divided into forty senatorial districts, Yarmouth and the towns below being designated as the Cape District, and the three other Cape towns being united with the islands, under the name of the Island District. This apportionment existed until 1877. The representation of the Cape district during that period was: 1858, Charles F. Swift; 1859, John W. Atwood; 1860-1861, Marshall S. Underwood, Dennis; 1862-1863, Robert H. Libby, Wellfleet; 1864-1865, Freeman Cobb, Brewster; 1866, Reuben Nickerson, Eastham; 1867-1868, Chester

Snow, Harwich; 1869, 1870, 1871, Nathaniel E. Atwood, Provincetown; 1872-1873, Joseph K. Baker, Dennis; 1874-1875, Thomas N. Stone, Wellfleet; 1876, Jonathan Higgins, Orleans. The Island district, during this period, was represented by Cape men, as follows: 1861-1862, Charles Dillingham, Sandwich; 1863-1864, Nathan Crocker, Barnstable; 1867-1868, Erasmus Gould, Falmouth; 1869-1870, George A. King, Barnstable; 1873-1874, Francis A. Nye, Falmouth; 1875-1876, Ezra C. Howard, Sandwich.

Since 1877 to the present time, the two districts have been united, under the name of the Cape district, and the senators from the district have been: 1877, 1878, 1879, John B. D. Cogswell; 1880, 1881, Samuel Snow, Barnstable; 1882, 1883, Joseph P. Johnson, Provincetown; 1884, 1885, 1886, Howes Norris, Cottage City; 1887, 1888, Isaac N. Keith, Bourne; 1889, 1890, David Fisk, Dennis; 1891, 1892, John Simpkins, Yarmouth; 1893, 1894, John Kenrick, Jr., Orleans; 1895, 1896, 1897, Wm. A. Morse, Tisbury.

JUDICIAL OFFICERS.

From the creation of the county to the Revolutionary war, local and county courts, under varying designations, have existed, but owing to the destruction of the records it is impracticable to prepare a complete list of the incumbents. The following persons were justices of the Common Pleas, or of the Court of Sessions, at the date specified: 1692, John Freeman, Eastham; Barnabas Lothrop, Barnstable; John Thacher, Yarmouth; Stephen Skiff, Eastham. 1695, Jonathan Sparrow, Eastham. 1699, John Sparrow, Eastham. 1710, William Bassett, Sandwich. 1711, John Gorham, Barnstable. 1713, John Doane, Eastham; Dan'l Parker, Barnstable; Thomas Payne, Eastham; John Otis, Sam'l Annable, Barnstable. 1715, Melatiah Bourne, Sandwich;

Sam'l Sturgis, Barnstable; Nathaniel Freeman, Harwich. 1721, Joseph Lothrop, Barnstable. 1722, Joseph Doane, Eastham. 1727, Ezra Bourne, Sandwich; 1729, Peter Thacher, Yarmouth; Shubael Baxter, Yarmouth. 1736, John Thacher, Yarmouth; John Davis, Barnstable. 1739, John Russell, Barnstable. 1742, Shubael Gorham, Barnstable; David Crocker, Barnstable. 1746, John Otis, Barnstable. 1753, Thomas Winslow, Harwich. 1758, Sylvanus Bourne, Barnstable; Thomas Smith, Sandwich; Rowland Robinson, Falmouth. 1760, Nymphas Marston, Barnstable. 1763, Roland Cotton, Sandwich. 1764, James Otis, Barnstable; Edward Bacon, Barnstable. 1765, John Gorham, Barnstable. 1770, Isaac Hinckley, Barnstable.

The following names, dates of commission not ascertained, should be added to the list: Melatiah Bourne, Sandwich; Shearjashub Bourne, David Gorham, Solomon Otis, Joseph Otis, Daniel Davis, Rich. Bourne, Barnstable; David Thacher, Yarmouth; Kenelm Winslow, Harwich.

Since the Revolution and down to the year 1809, the following justices of the Common Pleas were appointed, under authority of "the government and people of Massachusetts Bay:" 1775, James Otis, Daniel Davis, Barnstable; Nathaniel Freeman, Sandwich, successively chief justices; Richard Baxter, Yarmouth. 1775, Joseph Nye, Jr., Sandwich. 1781, Solomon Freeman, Harwich. 1793, John Davis, Barnstable. 1799, Ebenezer Bacon, Barnstable. 1801, David Scudder, Barnstable. 1803, Samuel Waterman, Wellfleet. 1804, Thomas Thacher, Yarmouth. 1809, Isaiah L. Green and Timothy Phinney, Barnstable. 1809, Wendell Davis, Sandwich.

The Court of Sessions, created in 1808, changed in 1811, to Court of Sessions of the Peace, and abolished in 1828, was a county tribunal. The date of commissions of the

justices is wanting, owing to destruction of court house records. The following are known to have been incumbents during that period: Nathaniel Freeman, Sandwich; John Davis, Barnstable, chief justices, with the following associates: Joseph Dimmick, Falmouth; James Freeman, Sandwich; Samuel Freeman, Eastham; Isaiah L. Green, Barnstable; Solomon Freeman, Brewster; Richard Sears, Chatham; Calvin Tilden, Yarmouth; Samuel P. Croswell, Falmouth; Elijah Cobb, Brewster; Elisha Doane, Yarmouth; Naler Crocker, Barnstable; Melatiah Bourne, Sandwich. Most of the foregoing judges, especially in the very early period of the colony, were not educated to the law, and had little legal training.

The following are the judges of Probate, who have occupied that position: 1702, Barnabas Lothrop, Barnstable. 1714, John Otis, Barnstable. 1727, Melatiah Bourne, Sandwich. 1741-2, Sylvanus Bourne, Sandwich. 1764, James Otis, Barnstable. 1781, Daniel Davis, Barnstable. 1799, Ebenezer Bacon, Barnstable. 1800, John Davis, Barnstable. 1825, Job C. Davis, Barnstable. 1828, Nymphas Marston, Barnstable. 1854, George Marston, Barnstable. 1858, Joseph M. Day, Barnstable.* 1882, Hiram P. Harriman, Wellfleet.

Courts of Insolvency were established by the authority of a statute of June 6, 1856. This court was consolidated with the Probate court March 26, 1858, under the style of Court of Probate and Insolvency. Simeon N. Small of Yarmouth was judge of this court, and John P. Washburn of Barnstable, register.

District Courts were established in the county of Barnstable by the act of 1890, chapter 177. The First District jurisdiction extends to the towns of Barnstable, Bourne,

*Judge of Probate and Insolvency, from the above date.

Falmouth, Mashpee, Sandwich, Yarmouth. The Second, the remaining towns in the county. Sessions of the First, in Barnstable every day but Saturday; Saturday at Buzzard's Bay. Second, sessions every day but Friday in Provincetown; on Friday in Harwich. For the trial of criminal cases, with jurisdiction in civil cases for the sum of $1000. Following are the appointments: First—Justice, 1890, William P. Reynolds; 1893, Frederick C. Swift. Associate Justices, 1890, Ebenezer S. Whittemore, Frederick C. Swift; 1892, Smith K. Hopkins; 1893, Henry M. Hutchings. Second—Justice, 1890, James H. Hopkins; 1896, Raymond A. Hopkins. Associate Justices, 1890, Tully Crosby, Jr., George T. Wyer.

COUNTY OFFICERS.

The following have served as registers of Probate: 1686, Joseph Lothrop,* Barnstable. 1702, William Bassett, Sandwich. 1721, Nathaniel Otis, Barnstable. 1729, Sylvanus Bourne, Barnstable. 1740-1741, David Gorham, Barnstable. 1775, Nathaniel Freeman, Sandwich. 1823, Abner Davis, Barnstable. 1836, Timothy Reed, Barnstable. 1852, Nathaniel Hinckley, Barnstable. 1853, George Marston, Barnstable. 1854, Joseph M. Day, Barnstable. 1854, Rufus S. Pope, Barnstable. 1858, Charles F. Swift, Yarmouth. 1859, Jonathan Higgins, Orleans. 1874, Charles Thacher, 2d, Yarmouth. 1884, Freeman H. Lothrop, Barnstable.

The following have been the incumbents of the office of register of deeds, but the date for determining the term of service has been destroyed: 1686, Joseph Lothrop, Barnstable; William Bassett, Sandwich; John Thacher,

*Mr. Lothrop was called county recorder in some of the old papers, placing on record deeds, conveyances and other instruments.

Barnstable; Solomon Otis, Barnstable; Edward Bacon, Barnstable; Ebenezer Bacon, Barnstable; Job C. Davis, Barnstable; Lothrop Davis, Barnstable; Fred'k Scudder, Barnstable; 1874, S. K. Hopkins, Barnstable; 1877, Asa E. Lovell, Barnstable; 1887, Andrew F. Sherman, Barnstable.

The county treasurers, so far as can be determined, have been: Solomon Otis, Barnstable. 1784, Edward Bacon, Barnstable. 1785, Ebenezer Bacon, Barnstable. 1814, David Crocker, Barnstable. 1824, Ebenezer Bacon, Barnstable. 1837, Josiah Hinckley, Barnstable. 1842, Fred'k Scudder, Barnstable. 1853, Chas. F. Swift, Yarmouth. 1857, Obed Baker, 2d, Dennis. 1862, Gorham Hallett, Barnstable. 1868, Samuel Higgins, Chatham. 1874, Chas. H. Nye, Barnstable. 1880, William H. Underwood, Harwich. 1886, Marshall L. Adams, Provincetown. 1889, Clarendon A. Freeman, Chatham. 1895, Edward L. Chase, Barnstable.

The clerks of courts have been, so far as known: William Bassett, Sandwich; Nath'l Otis, Barnstable; John Sturgis, Barnstable; Joseph Otis, Barnstable; Wm. Otis, Barnstable; David Scudder, Barnstable; Abner Davis, Barnstable; 1840, Timothy Reed, Barnstable; 1855, Fred'k W. Crocker, Barnstable; 1863, James B. Crocker, Yarmouth; 1876, Smith K. Hopkins, Barnstable, to present time.

The sheriffs for the county of Barnstable have been: 1692, William Bassett, Sandwich; 1699, Samuel Allen, Barnstable; 1713, Shubael Gorham, Barnstable; 1715, Joseph Lothrop, Barnstable; 1721, John Russell, Barnstable; 1731, John Hedge, Barnstable; 1748, John Gorham, Barnstable; 1764, Nathaniel Stone, Barnstable; 1775, Enoch Hallett, Yarmouth; 1788, Joseph Dimmick,

Falmouth; 1808, James Freeman, Sandwich; 1816, Wendell Davis, Sandwich; 1823, David Crocker, Barnstable; 1843, Nathaniel Hinckley, Barnstable; 1848, Charles Marston, Barnstable; 1852, Daniel Bassett, Barnstable; 1853, David Bursley, Barnstable; 1856, Charles C. Bearse, Barnstable; 1863, David Bursley, Barnstable; 1878, Levi L. Goodspeed, Barnstable; 1880, Thomas Harris, Barnstable; 1884, Luther Fisk, Dennis; 1890, Joseph Whitcomb, Provincetown. In 1720, the record reads, that Shubael Gorham was appointed "to be joint sheriff with Mr. Lothrop." In 1731, John Hedge was appointed "to be joint sheriff with Shubael Gorham."

When the legislature, in 1828, abolished the court of sessions and commissioners of highways, in their place was established a board of county commissioners. The first appointments were: Samuel T. Croswell, Falmouth; Matthew Cobb, Barnstable; Obed Brooks, Harwich; John Freeman, Sandwich, and Orren Howes, Dennis, special commissioners. By a statute of April, 1835, the board was that year re-organized, and the following persons were elected for a term of three years, and their successors were chosen every three years thereafter until 1854:

1835—Jesse Boyden, Sandwich; Michael Collins, Eastham; Alexander Baxter, Yarmouth. Special commissioners—Jonathan Nickerson, Dennis; Nath'l Hinckley, Barnstable.

1838—Jesse Boyden, Sandwich; Michael Collins, Eastham; Charles Sears, Yarmouth. Special commissioners—Nathaniel Hinckley, Barnstable; Jonathan Nickerson, Dennis.

1841—Zenas D. Bassett, Barnstable; Isaac Hardy, Chatham; John Newcomb, Wellfleet. Special commis-

sioners—Nehemiah Baker, Dennis; Simeon Dillingham, Sandwich.

1844—Seth Crowell, Dennis; Ebenezer Nye, Falmouth; John Newcomb, Wellfleet. Special commissioners—Simeon Dillingham, Sandwich; Barnabas Doane, Eastham.

1847—Seth Crowell, Ebenezer Nye, John Newcomb. Special commissioners—Simeon Dillingham, Barnabas Doane.

1850—Seth Crowell, Dennis; John Doane, Orleans; David K. Akin, Yarmouth. Special commissioners—James H. Knowles, Eastham; Nathan Jenkins, Barnstable.

1853—John Doane, Orleans; David K. Akin, Yarmouth; Simeon Dillingham, Sandwich. Special commissioners—Nathan Jenkins, Barnstable; Jesse Collins, Eastham.

The act of 1854 provided for the retirement of one member in that year, one in 1855 and one in 1856, the other to hold his office until 1856, and for the annual election of one commissioner each year to hold office for three years. In 1855, David A. Smith of Provincetown succeeded David K. Akin, and in 1856, William Hewins of Falmouth succeeded Simeon Dillingham. In September, 1856, Edward W. Ewer of Sandwich succeeded to the vacancy caused by the retirement of David A. Smith. Since that time the terms begin in January, and have been filled as follows: 1857, James Gifford, Provincetown; 1858, Edward W. Ewer, Sandwich; 1859, 1862, Joseph H. Sears, Brewster; 1860, John W. Davis, Wellfleet; 1861, 1864, Erasmus Gould, Falmouth; 1863, 1866, 1869, Daniel Paine, Truro; 1864 to 1885, James S. Howes, Dennis;* 1867 to 1876, Ebenezer S. Whittemore, Sandwich; 1872, Elijah E. Knowles, Eastham; 1875, Jonathan Higgins, Orleans; 1876 to 1888, 1894, 1897, Joshua C. Robinson,

*On page 308 it was stated that Mr. Howes filled that office 24 years.

Falmouth; 1881, Nathan D. Freeman, Provincetown, (died in office, 1887); 1886, 1889, Solomon E. Hallett, Chatham; 1888, 1891, Samuel Snow, Barnstable; 1888, (to fill vacancy, by death of N. D. Freeman), 1889, Isaiah C. Young, Wellfleet; 1892, 1895, John H. Clark, Brewster; 1893, 1896, Richard A. Rich, Truro.

The special commissioners since 1856 have been: 1856, Cyrus Weekes, Harwich; Nath'l Snow, Chatham. 1859, Joshua C. Howes, Dennis; Daniel Paine, Truro. 1862, James B. Crocker, Yarmouth; Isaac Bee, Chatham. 1865, Elisha Taylor, Yarmouth; Isaac Bee, Chatham. 1868, Wm. H. Underwood, Harwich; Isaac Bee, Chatham. 1871, William A. Atkins, Provincetown; Tully Crosby, Brewster. 1874, John W. Davis, Wellfleet; Watson B. Kelley, Harwich. 1877, John W. Davis, Wellfleet; Joshua M. Howes, Yarmouth. 1880, Freeman Howes, Yarmouth; John E. Perry, Chatham. 1883, Freeman Howes, Yarmouth; Andrew F. Sherman, Sandwich. 1887, Freeman Howes, Yarmouth; William N. Stone, Wellfleet. 1890, Freeman Howes, Yarmouth; James H. Hopkins, Provincetown. 1893, Freeman Howes, Yarmouth; Watson F. Baker, Dennis. 1896, Watson F. Baker, Dennis; Henry H. Baker, Jr., Barnstable.

SOCIETIES, ETC.

The Barnstable County Agricultural Society was organized May 5, 1843, with about sixty members, and an act of incorporation was granted by the Massachusetts Legislature of 1844. The first exhibition and fair by the society was held in the court-house, in the fall of that year. The annual fair has been held each year in Barnstable, except in the year 1851, when it was held in Orleans, and 1852, in Sandwich. In 1857-8, a lot was acquired in Barnstable,

and a building was erected upon it, at a cost of about $4,300. This building was destroyed in a severe gale in the spring of 1862, and a new one erected the succeeding year. The society has been the recipient of several donations. Hon. William Sturgis gave $1200 to cancel the debt on the second building. Capt. John Percival, a gallant and distinguished officer of the U. S. navy, and a native of Barnstable, left $500, the income of which is devoted to premiums to exhibitors.* Mrs. Ellen B. Eldridge also gave the society $500, in recognition of the interest which her husband, the late Dr. Azariah Eldridge, took in the welfare of the society, this gift also to be devoted to the same object as the donation of Capt. Percival.

The officers of the society during its existence have been as follows: Presidents—John Reed, chosen in 1843; Zenas D. Bassett, 1848; C. B. H. Fessenden, 1851; Charles Marston, 1852; S. B. Phinney, 1855; George Marston, 1859; Nathaniel Hinckley, 1864; Nathan Crocker, 1866; Charles C. Bearse, 1869; Levi L. Goodspeed, 1871; Chas. F. Swift, 1873; A. T. Perkins, 1875; Azariah Eldridge, 1878; John Simpkins, 1888 to present time. Secretaries—Charles H. Bursley, 1843; George Marston, 1853; S. B. Phinney, 1859; Frederick Scudder, 1862; George A. King, 1865; Charles F. Swift, 1867; Charles Thacher, 2d, 1871; F. B. Goss, 1876; F. P. Goss, 1879; Frederick C. Swift, 1882; Henry M. Hutchings, 1895, to present time. Treasurers—Joseph A. Davis, 1843; Ebenezer Bacon, 1845; Daniel Bassett, 1853; S. P. Holway, 1858; S. B. Phinney, 1860; Walter Chipman, 1861; Frederick Scudder, 1867; Walter Chipman, 1868; Freeman H. Lothrop, 1875; Albert F. Edson, 1882; Andrew F. Sherman, 1896, to present time. Delegates to State Board of Agriculture—George Marston,

*Capt. Percival died in Dorchester, Sept. 17, 1862, aged 84 years.

1859; S. B. Phinney, 1862; John Kenrick, 1866; S. B. Phinney, 1870; Augustus T. Perkins, 1879; Nathan Edson, 1882; John Bursley, 1892, to present time.

The Cape Cod Historical Society was organized at a meeting held at Yarmouth camp grove, August 5, 1882. Its object, as stated in its constitution, was "the collection, preservation and dissemination of facts of local history." The annual meetings of the society are held the 22d of February, or the day of its legal observance. Summer meetings are also held, when practicable, at some spot of local historic interest. Papers on subjects of local history are read at the annual meetings, and discussed by the members, and some of these papers have been published; most of them are of sufficient value to be preserved in a more permanent form. They were written by the following members: Capt. Thomas P. Howes, C. C. P. Waterman, Ebenezer S. Whittemore, Shebnah Rich, Samuel Snow, Charles F. Swift and others. The following officers of the society have been such since the organization: Charles F. Swift, president; Josiah Paine, secretary; Samuel Snow, treasurer. For the year 1896 the following additional officers were chosen: Vice presidents, Sylvanus B. Phinney, James Gifford, Thomas Matthews, William P. Davis; executive committee, the president, secretary and treasurer, Joshua C. Howes, Eben B. Crocker.

The Barnstable County Mutual Fire Insurance Company is one of the oldest institutions of this nature in the state. It was chartered in 1833. Its place of business is Yarmouthport, where is its office. The executive officers are a president and secretary, who is also treasurer. The presidents have successively been: David Crocker, Eben Bacon, Zenas D. Bassett, David K. Akin, Joseph R. Hall, and Simeon Atwood. The secretaries and treasurers, Amos

Otis, George Otis, Frank Thacher. The directors for 1896 were: Simeon Atwood, Peleg P. Akin, John H. Clark, George N. Chipman, Hiram Harding, Henry M. Hutchings, Thomas Howes, Andrew Lovell, Alex. T. Newcomb, Fred'k C. Swift, Frank Thacher, A. L. Weekes, Joseph D. Winslow. The amount of current risks in 1897 was about $7,364,000.

There are five national banks in the county. They were originally, (except that of Hyannis), state banks, but afterwards organized under the United States statutes. The oldest institution is the Falmouth National, organized in 1821. Its presidents have been: Elijah Swift, John Jenkins, Oliver C. Swift, Erasmus Gould, Silas Jones, Ward Eldred. Its cashiers, Samuel P. Croswell, Samuel P. Bourne, George E. Clark, George E. Dean.

The Barnstable Bank, Yarmouthport, was chartered in 1825, and in 1865, on changing to a national institution, it took the name of the First National Bank of Yarmouth. Its first president was David Crocker, and his successors have been: Isaiah Crowell, Seth Crowell, David K. Akin, Joshua C. Howes. The successive cashiers have been: Caleb Reed, Timothy Reed, Amos Otis, Wm. P. Davis. Its original capital, $100,000, was increased first to $525,000, and successively decreased to $350,000 and $175,000, at which it remains at present.

Provincetown Bank was chartered in 1854, with a capital of $100,000. In 1865, it became the First National Bank, Provincetown, with a capital of $200,000. Its presidents have been: Nathan Freeman, Stephen Cook, Moses N. Gifford. The cashiers, Elijah Smith, Moses N. Gifford, Reuben W. Swift, Joseph H. Dyer.

The Bank of Cape Cod, Harwich, was chartered in 1855. Its successive presidents have been: Christopher Hall, Prince

S. Crowell, Joseph K. Baker, Isaac H. Loveland, Edward E. Crowell. Its cashiers, Obed Brooks, Jr., George H. Snow. The capital stock is $300,000.

The First National Bank of Hyannis was chartered in 1865. The presidents of this bank have been: Alexander Baxter, Sylvanus B. Phinney, Joseph R. Hall, Abel D. Makepeace. Its cashiers, Joseph R. Hall, Joseph T. Hall, Granville E. Tillson. Its capital stock is $100,000.

There are also four savings banks in the county. The oldest is the Seaman's Savings Bank, Provincetown, incorporated in 1851. Its presidents have been: John Adams, David Fairbanks, Lysander N. Paine. Its treasurers, David Fairbanks, R. E. Nickerson, Enos Nickerson, John Young, Jr., Joseph H. Dyer, Lewis Nickerson, W. H. Young.

The Five Cents Savings Bank, in Harwich, was chartered 1856. Its presidents have been successively: Nathan Underwood, Nathaniel Snow, Josiah Hardy, Prince S. Crowell, Samuel H. Gould, Joseph K. Baker, Edward E. Crowell, Levi Eldridge. Its successive treasurers have been, Obed Brooks, Jr., M. S. Underwood, A. C. Snow.

Bass River Savings Bank was organized in South Yarmouth, in 1874. David Kelley and Hiram Loring have been its presidents. Its treasurers have been: Peleg P. Akin, David D.Kelley and Stephen Wing.

Wellfleet Savings Bank was chartered in 1863. Richard R. Freeman was the first president, who was succeeded by Simeon Atwood. Mr. Atwood was the first treasurer, and he was succeeded by Thomas Kemp, the present incumbent.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

Associations for more effective work in the various fields of religious effort have been formed by several of the church organizations in this county during the current century.

The Conference of Congregational churches holds priority of organization of these associations. It was formed Oct. 28, 1828, for the promotion of closer union between ministers and societies. It was simply a voluntary union until April 26, 1837, when a constitution was adopted, which was amended and revised January, 1845. The pastors of the twenty churches in the county, and also of Dukes (who seldom meet with the association) and two lay members from each society, constitute the membership. The permanent officers are a clerk or scribe, a treasurer and two standing committees, chosen annually, the moderator being elected each session, of which there are two each year. The late Rev. Charles E. Harwood held the position of scribe from 1870 to 1881, while he was in charge of the society in Orleans. Other incumbencies have been of briefer duration.

The Barnstable Baptist Association was organized in Brewster, Oct. 10th, 1832, when a constitution was adopted, prepared by Brothers Ewer, Harris and Marchant. The association now consists of fifteen churches on the Cape, the Vineyard and Nantucket. It holds its sessions at least annually, commencing on the second Wednesday in September in each year. Each church is allowed to send its pastor and four lay members, styled "messengers." The officers are a moderator, a clerk and a treasurer. To this meeting each church sends a communication containing an account of its condition and prosperity. There is little permanency to the personnel of the organization, very few of the officers for the last sixty-five years being re-elected more than once or twice in succession. The first moderator, in 1832, was Brother Seth Ewer; Clerk, E. N. Harris. The last moderator, chosen in 1897, was Rev. A. Fair-brother of Vineyard Haven; the clerk was Rev. Harvey A. Platts of Pocasset.

The Barnstable Conference of Universalists was organized A. D. 1838. There are belonging to it eight societies. It holds an annual meeting, and special meetings whenever or wherever desired. During most of its existence its only permanent officer was called "standing clerk." The president and other needed officers were chosen for the session. The services of the clerks or secretaries have, for the most part, been of short duration, say one or two years. Those who filled the office for a series of years are Rev. S. Barden, seven years; Rev. C. A. Bradley, fourteen years; Rev. B. Smith, five years; Mr. James A. Small, ten years. The organization has never failed to hold its regular sessions. This record affords the opportunity to make some further mention of this denomination, which has had many adherents in the county for the past seventy years, Revs. Chas. and J. M. Spear being of the pioneers in disseminating that faith. For a series of years the conference supported a missionary, who gave his whole time to travelling and preaching through the county. Pastorates have been for the most part brief. Those extending over a considerable period are: Rev. R. S. Pope, 30 years; Rev. C. A. Bradley, 30 years; Rev. V. Lincoln, 11 years; Rev. S. Barden, 8 years; Rev. B. Smith, 7 years. Nine natives of the county have entered the Universalist ministry, and a large number of devout women have become ministers' wives.

The Cape Cod Conference of Unitarians was organized at Barnstable, November 30, 1870, and the three parishes: Congregational church and society in Barnstable, the First Parish in Brewster, the First Church of Christ in Sandwich, formed the conference. In October, 1871, the Unitarian Society at Nantucket joined the conference, but in June, 1891, decided to withdraw, in consequence of the great

inconvenience of the journey and the difficulty of making connections. The name chosen was, The Cape Cod Conference of Congregational Unitarian and other Liberal Christian Churches. A constitution, consisting of ten articles, was adopted, and Major S. B. Phinney of Barnstable was chosen president; Rev. S. B. Flagg of Sandwich was chosen secretary and treasurer. The first regular session of the conference was held at Brewster, June 8-9, 1871. The following have been successive presidents: Sylvanus B. Phinney, for twenty-two years, Charles Dillingham, Franklin B. Goss, Thomas C. Day, the present incumbent. The secretaries have been, Rev. S. B. Flagg, Rev. James Collins, Rev. James Mulligan, and Rev. Thomas Dawes, from 1874 to the present time.

The Methodists, the Episcopalians and the Catholics do not maintain a county association, but are connected directly with their respective central organizations. With the Methodists, the conference is similar in its methods to the other county associations, except that it covers a more extended field of operations.

MEDICAL ORGANIZATIONS.

The Barnstable District Medical society has been in existence at least forty years, and has some twenty members. It is devoted to social and fraternal concerns and mutual protection, and the keeping alive of a high professional standard.

By chapter 26 of the Public Statutes of Massachusetts, the county of Barnstable is divided into three districts for Medical Examiners, whose functions are similar, though more comprehensive, than those of former coroners. The names of the present incumbents are:

No. 1, Harwich, Dennis, Yarmouth, Brewster, Chatham, Orleans and Eastham — George N. Munsell, Harwich.

No. 2, Barnstable, Bourne, Sandwich, Mashpee and Falmouth — R. H. Faunce, Sandwich.

No. 3, Provincetown, Truro, Wellfleet — William M. Moore, Provincetown.

LAW LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

Under the provisions of the laws of the state, a Law Library Association was organized in 1889. Judge Henry A. Scudder presented to the association his valuable private law library, which is added to from certain fees and appropriations by the Legislature. The officers of the association are: Librarian, F. H. Lothrop; Treasurer, Fred'k C. Swift; Clerk, Thomas C. Day.

GIFT LIBRARIES.

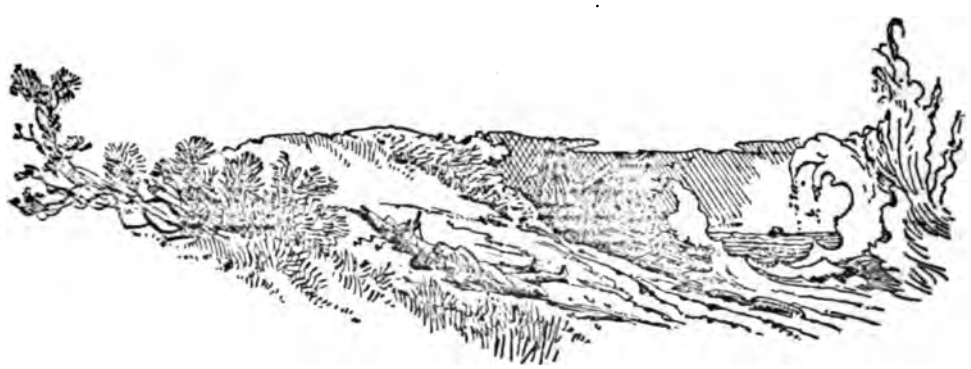
The readers of the foregoing pages have observed in the natural course of this relation, the instances of enlightened munificence, which have prompted gifts of libraries and public halls to the people of their native towns — by Isaac Thacher and Nathan Matthews to Yarmouth; Nathan Freeman to Provincetown; Isaac Rich to Orleans; Henry C. Brooks to Harwich; by the representatives of William Sturgis for Barnstable. It is a pleasing office to add to these closing pages other instances of recent thoughtful regard of native Cape Cod men for the people of their birthplace.

Jacob Sears, a native of East Dennis, some time since deceased, left a conditional bequest of about $15,000 for the erection of a hall for public lectures and the maintenance of a library in that village. The bequest became available in 1894-5, and in 1896 a hall, in which a course of lectures was inaugurated, was erected, and a collection of

books was begun, to be added to as the income of the fund increases. The dedication of the hall to the uses contemplated by the donor was observed by fitting services, Sam'l L. Powers, Esq. delivering an address appropriate to the occasion.

Hon. Marcellus Eldredge of Portsmouth, N. H., of Chatham origin, built and gave to that town a beautiful and commodious library structure, to be also used as a public reading room, together with a fund of $5000; and Mrs. Marcellus Eldredge added a well-selected collection of reference books; to which Mr. H. Fisher Eldredge added nearly 2000 volumes of general literature. The library was opened to the public May, 1896.

This list of benefactions closes with the gift of a large library and fine edifice to contain it, a memorial to the late Jonathan Bourne, a native of the town of Bourne, by his daughter, Miss Emily H. Bourne of New Bedford. The building is situated near the birthplace of Mr. Bourne, and beside the library, it contains an office for the town officers, and a reading room for the citizens. It was dedicated to public use June 19, 1897, the exercises being most appropriate, and were participated in by Rev. M. C. Julian of New Bedford, and America's greatest actor, Joseph Jefferson, now numbered among the permanent residents of the town.



INDEX.

Acadians at Monument River, 153.
Agriculture, 65.
Alden, Rev. Timothy, 264.
Alden, Rev. Timothy, Jr., 341.
Alger, Gertrude, 347.
Allefonsce, Johan, 10.
Andros, Sir Edmund, 126.
Atlantic Cable, 306.
Atwood, Nathaniel E., 298.

Bachilor, Stephen, attempts settlement, 42; death, 42.
Bacon, Ebenezer, 304.
Baker, Hon. Jos. K., 299.
Banks: Falmouth bank, 377; Barnstable bank, Yarmouth, 377; Provincetown bank, 377; bank of Cape Cod, 377; first National bank of Hyannis, 378; savings banks, 378.
Baptists first gathered, 219.
Barlow, Geo., appointed officer to suppress heresy, 96; persecutes Quakers, 96; end of discreditable career, 102.
Barnstable settled, 48; first place of worship, 48; first church built, 53; division of common lands, 137; threatening demonstrations, 249; centennial celebration, 259; soldiers at Richmond, 276; land reserved for burying ground, 120; wind-mill erected, 132; small-pox, 162; Baptist Church organized, 180; refused action on Independence, 184; reward for killing wolves, 233; South Congregational Church incorporated, 270; on taxation, etc., 171; loyalist mob, 173.
Barnstable county agricultural society organized, 374; donations, 375; officers of society, 375.
Barnstable County Mutual Fire Insurance company, chartered, 376; officers of, 377.
Bass River bridges, 290.
Baxter, Sylvester, 346.
Birds, 6.
Blackbirds, 160.
Blackfish captured, 305.
Blockade, coast of U. S. declared in a state of, 237.
Boston garrisoned, 168; Tea Party, 169; commerce interdicted, 175.
Bounds of land set forth, 40.
Bounds settled between Sandwich and Plymouth, 159.
Bourne; fire in woods, 307; celebrates anniversary, 301.
Bourne, Benj. F., 345.
Bourne, Richard, teaches Indians, 83; 325; 332.
Bourne, Jos., 326.
Bradford, Wm., loses his wife by drowning, 27.
Bray, Mrs. Mary M., 347.
Brewster, act of separation, incongruous, 216; tribute demanded from, as immunity from invasion, 247; committee to keep dogs out of meeting-house, 270; dividing line changed, 271.
British vessel ashore, 248.
Brooks, Sidney, 347.
Burr, Rev. Jonathan, 348.

Camp-meeting, 271; 279.
Canacum entertains settlers, 31; death, 32.
Canal committee appointed, 135.
Canal dug between Orleans and Eastham, 225.
Canal site viewed, 212.
Canal through Cape first thought of, 35.
Cape Cod, name of, 1; 12;
Cape captains in other lands, 228.
Cape Cod Historical society, organized, 376; officers of, 376.
Cape Cod Ship Canal, 294.
Cape shipmasters and merchants, 254.
Cape vessels captured by the British, 244.
Captain Kidd, 145.
Capture and escape of two Cape captains, 245.

Carver, John, elected governor, 24.
Census, from settlement to 1765, 361; first census of Mass., eleventh decennial census of U. S., 362.
Chamberlain, Rev. N. H., 345; Chamberlayne, Chas. F., 346.
Champlain, explores coast, 14; arrives off Chatham, 15; takes possession, 15; encounter with Indians, 16.
Character of first settlers, 40.
Charge of murder, 131.
Chatham opposes War of 1812-15, 238.
Children's recreations, 72.
Chipman, Lieut. Col. Chas., 277.
Church attendance, 73.
Church, Col. Benj., given commission of major, 127; recruits troops, 138.
Church first established, 40; 42.
Coast changes, 13.
Cobb, Elijah, interview with Robespierre, 229.
Cogswell, John B. D., 299; 347.
Commerce of Cape Cod during War of 1812-15, 245; expansion, 227; crippled by inadequacy of naval forces, 230; prohibited with foreign countries, 231.
Common, land reserved for, 41.
Constable's powers, 38; duties, 56.
Constitution of U. S. ratified, 215.
Continental Congress, 166; 175.
Corn returned by settlers, 29.
Corporations, 260.
Council of ministers, 47.
County officers, registers of probate, 370; county treasurers, 371; clerks of courts, 371; sheriffs, 371; 372; county commissioners, 372; 373; 374; special commissioners, 374.
County formed, 123.
Court House built, 124; new one built, 259; old bell, 259.
County house burnt, 257.
Court of Common Pleas, established in Plymouth Co., 127; at Barnstable, 176.
Courts of insolvency established and consolidated, 369.
Court, obstruction of sessions, 178.
Courts postponed, 212.
Cranberry, history of its cultivation, 283.
Crow, John, grantee of Yarmouth, 44.
Crooker, Frederick W., 347.
Cudworth, James 87.
Customs, collectors of, 303.

Dark day, 213.
Declaration of Independence, 185.
Deeds restored, 258.
Deer slaughtered, 271.
De Monts explores coast, 14.
Dennis separated from Yarmouth, 215; divided into two parishes, 270.
Dimmick, Gen. Jos., captures the Gen. Leslie, 198; captures schooner containing corn, 199; dies in Falmouth, 262.
Dimmock, Col. Thos., killed, 135.
District courts, 369; 370.
Doane, Heman, 350.
Dodge, Rev. John W., 347.
Dutch, trade with, 35; fears of war, 76; preparations for war, 77.
Duties on various articles, 167; repeal, 168.
Dwight, Dr. Timothy, 352.
Dyer, Benj. Jr., 347.

Earthquake in New England, 59.
Eastham settled, 53; leading men, 54; tribute demanded, 247; money appropriated for meeting house, 120; presented for having no school-master, 160; bounds settled, 160; brig Wilkes cast ashore, 212.
Eel River has bridge by order of court, 59; taxation for, 75; Cape towns again assessed, 135.
Eldridge, Rev. Azariah, 299; 348.
Eldridge, Geo., 349.
Eliot, John, apostle to the Indians, 47; 324.
Embargo Act, 231; 235.
Emigration to Maine, 158.
Executive councillors, 364.
Expedition to find food, 29.
Express Companies, 288.

Falmouth, first settlers, 125; attempted destruction by British, 195; in War of 1812-15, 241; first bank of county incorporated, 257; bi-centennial celebration, 298; votes money for meeting-house, 160; "new purchase" laid out in lots, 160; Methodist society, 233.
Fast Day set apart, 50.

Fay, Jos. Story, 349.
Fine for Sabbath breaking, 60; 89; for selling liquor, 131; for stealing, 60.
First church, 40.
First laws of colony, 37.
Fish, 4.
Fisheries, 65; value to Plymouth colonists, 312; limited to residents, 312; seining prohibited, 313; statistics, 314; mackerel, 315; people employed, 316; U. S. Fishery Commission, 317; Marine Biological Laboratory, 318.
Fishing permits, 61.
First comers, character and former occupation, 63; reasons for choosing this locality, 64.
Flora, 3.
Food of first settlers, 66.
Ford, Daniel B., 343.
Freeman, Rev. Frederick, 341.
Freeman, Gen. Nath'l, 264.
Freeman, Rev. Jas., 341.
French and Indian War, 143.
Fulling-mill, 132.

Gammons, Rev. J. G., 349.
General Court, last of Plymouth Colony, 131.
Gifford, James, 351.
Gosnold, Bartholomew, 12.
Governor, votes for in 1813-14, 239; election of, 38.
Gorham, Capt. John, dies at Swansey, 111; Capt. John, 2d, goes to Winter Harbor, 134.
Grant obtained by new comers, 59.
Great gale of 1841, 260; of 1869, 291.
Great storm of 1635, 36.
Green, Isaiah L., 266; 238.

Hallet, Andrew, gives cow for the poor, 60.
Hallet, Enoch, sheriff, died, 233.
Hamblin, Gen. Joseph, 277; 291.
Harwich admitted as a town, 134; first church, 136; feeling as to the War of Revolution, 179; Baptist society organized, 233; large fire, 305.
Hersey, Dr. Abner, 254.
Highest land, 1.
Highways amended, 60.
Hinckley, Gustavus A., 350.
Hinckley, Thomas, made commissary general, 111; elected governor, 122; supplanted by Andros, 126; re-elected, 129; career and death, 140.
Houses, enumeration of, 361.
Houses of first comers, 69.
House of worship, law requiring, 122.
Howes, Thos., grantee of Yarmouth, 44.
Howes, Capt. Thos. P., 302; 347.
Hudson, Henry, landed at Cape Cod, 16.
Hull, Jos., first minister of Barnstable, 52; invited to preach in Yarmouth, 46.
Hyannis in War of 1812-15, 243; breakwater, 257; Normal school, 304.

Incorporation of towns, 1.
Independence, Cape towns in the war of, 184.
Independent cause favored by Mr. Lothrop, 53.
Indians: titles extinguished, 51; trading with, 13; sold as slaves, 17; lost boy found among, 28; cause of first attack, 322; understanding with settlers, 29; theft, 30; many die, 32; rescue shipwrecked crew, 36; engage themselves to fidelity to English, 86; have liberty to set up house for meeting, 120; Capt. Hunt's perfidy, 321; the pingue, 322; three sachemdoms, 322; names tribes, 322; their granaries save the English, 323; mythology, 323; titles acknowledged by English, 324; efforts to christianize, 324; courts, 325; Rev. Gideon Hawley succeeds Mr. Bourne, 326; attempts to redress grievances, 327; lands apportioned, 328; Cape Indians, 328; Praying Indians, 329; other Indian teachers, 330; decay of race, 331.
Iyanough described, 28; entertains settlers, 29; death, 32; remains found in East Barnstable, 32.

Jenkins, Chas. W., 342.
Justices of common pleas, 367; 368.
Judges of probate, 369.

Kenrick, Capt. John, discoverer of the Columbia River, 228.
King Philip's War commences, 108; character of Philip, 107; soldiers

furnished by towns, 107; Narragansetts aid Philip, 109; Narragansetts lose 1000 men, 110; two Cape men wounded, 111; battle near Seekonk, 113; desertion and death of Philip, 114; attitude of Cape Indians, 116; war policy of government, 117; debt contracted by war, 118.
King George's War, 149.

Land division, 40; 50.
Land committee appointed, 45.
Latitude, 1; 13.
Laws of England ignored by the colonists, 38.
Law Library association, 382.
Laws printed, 89.
Leverich, Mr., arraignment and removal, 81.
Lewis, Maj. George, died, 270.
Lewis, Sam'l, 272.
Libraries, gift: Yarmouth, 292; Provincetown, 291; Orleans, 382; Harwich, 382; East Dennis, 382; Chatham, 383; Bourne, 383.
License for an ordinary, 59; to draw wine, 60.
Life saving service, 292.
Lighthouses; sites granted at Monomoy, Nobsque Point, Sandy Neck and Long Point, 270.
Liquor imported, 66.
Local court, 56.
Lothrop, John, arrived in Barnstable, 48; character and education, 49.
Louisburg, siege of, 150; whaleboat fleet, 150; what it taught the colonists, 164.
Loyalists, 173.

Macadamized road, 310.
Mail service, 286.
Manomet trading station, 35; 38.
Maritime business depression, 282; interests of New England, 237.
Marston, Geo., 297; 348.
Marston, Nymphas, 280.
Mason and Slidell brought to Provincetown, 276.
Mashpee asks for larger liberties, 159; Indian plantation made a district, 270; land set apart for Indians, 325; made a town, 325.
Mattacheesett, attempted settlement of, 43; grants, 59.
Matthews, Marmaduke, first minister of Yarmouth, 46.
Matthews, Nathan, 292.
Mayflower in Provincetown harbor, 19; compact in cabin, 21.
Mayo, John, first minister of Eastham, 55; died, 120.
Medical organizations, 381.
Methodism, 157; growth and spread, 217.
Military discipline, liberty granted for, 60.
Military musters, 89.
Militia re-organized, 218.
Miller, Rev. John, 47; 82.
Mirage, 10.
Monnamoit [see Chatham].
Money appropriated to teach children, 160.
Murder of Edith Freeman, 305.
Myrick, Rev. Osborn, 346.

Narragansetts, expedition against, 58.
Nauset [see Eastham.]
Newspapers, Nautical Intelligencer, 353; Barnstable Co. Gazette, 353; Barnstable Journal, 354; Cape Cod Journal, 354; Barnstable Patriot, 354; Yarmouth Register, 354; Sandwich Observer, 355; Cape Cod News, 356; Provincetown Banner, 356; Atlantic Messenger, 356; Cape Cod Republican, 356; Provincetown Advocate, 356; Provincetown News, 357; Chatham Monitor, 357; Cape Cod Bee, 357; Sandwich Gazette, Falmouth Chronicle, 357; Harwich Independent, 358; Cape Cod Item, 358; Mayflower, 358; Sandwich Observer, 359; Falmouth Local, 359; Cape Cod Independent, 359; The Independent, 359; Barnstable County Journal, 360; Cape Cod News, 360; Wellfleet News and Sandwich Review, 360; Provincetown Beacon, 360; Falmouth Enterprise, 360.
Nickerson, Wm., has controversy as to land titles, 84.
Northmen visit the Cape, 8.

Orleans refuses to give tribute, 248; "Battle of Orleans," 249; church buys bass viol, 234; Osborn, Dr. John, 359.
Otis, Amos, 294; 342.
Otis, Col. James, president of

Council, 182; character and death, 191.
Otis, James, Jr., 155; 210.
Otis, Gen. Jos., 233.

Packets, 285.
Paine, Josiah, 342.
Paine, Joshua H., 342.
Pamet [see Truro].
Parliament reimburses Colonists, 152.
Payne, John Howard, 352.
Perry, Mrs. Caroline T., 350.
Perry, Edward, 339.
Pestilence among natives, 17.
Phinney, Sylvanus B., 349.
Phipps, Sir William, arrives in Boston, 134.
Pilgrims send out exploring party, 24; buying corn, 25; send exploring party to region near Eastham, 26; attacked by Indians, 26; coast along to Plymouth, 27.
Piracy suppressed, 145.
Pirate fleet shipwrecked, 146.
Population, 7.
Plymouth Colony, end of political existence, 131; divided, 123.
Pratt, Enoch, 342.
Prence, Thos., elected governor, 78; character, 87.
Prince, Rev. Thos., 339.
Pring, Martin, 14.
Privateering, 250.
Province lands, 155; 161; 302.
Provincetown, diking harbor, 289; memorial tablet, 303; relations between people and English officers, 205; at mercy of British, 188; in War of 1812-15, 241; ship containing "sundry Tories" cast ashore, 211; appropriations for harbor, 270; 162; 232; town hall and school house burned, 305.
Provincial Congress, 172.
Provincial legislation, 133.
Public debt, 154.
Public highway laid out, 76.
Public Schools, 313.
Public whipping given to Robert Harper, 89.

Quakers first appear, 90; laws against, 91; fines, 95; 98; punishments, 99; protests against persecution, 101; doctrine and habits, 104; friendly feeling of Cape ministers, 105.
Queen Anne's War a detriment to people and industries, 139; whale boat fleet, 139.

Railroads, 285; 293; 281.
Rates of payment, 60.
Rebellion, the: The Cape calls for troops, 274; incursions of rebel privateer Tacony, 275.
Reed, John, 269.
Religious belief tolerated, 64.
Religious indifference, 80.
Religious societies: Conference of Congregational churches, 379; Barnstable Baptist association, 379; Barnstable conference of Universalists, 380; Cape Cod conference of Unitarians, 380.
Representatives in congress, 303.
Representative government, 55.
Resistance, first overt act of, against Great Britain, 175.
Revival of industries, 253.
Revolutionary War: Enlistment of Cape soldiers, 186; men drafted, 188; protection of coast, 197; call for men and supplies, 188; requisition for re-enforcement of army, 201; poverty of people, 203; Cape men taken prisoners, 209; Cape men who figured in events connected with the War, 207; mothers and daughters aid preparations, 183; death of actors in War, 223.
Richards, Mrs. A. M., 348.
Road built from Barnstable to Plymouth, 233.
Ryder, Rev. Wm. H., 350.

Salt manufacture, 219.
Samoset appears before settlers, 27.
Sandwich: Reasons for remissness in furnishing troops for King Philip's War, 112; academy incorporated, 225; people have liberty to seek refuge in garrison, 120; two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, 300; glass factory established, 257; presented for not training, 61; grant of land to Matthias Ellis, 161; town buys land at Herring River, 160; small pox, 212; reward offered for killing wolves, 233; attempt to divide town, 233; leave to erect cotton mill, 234; Rev. Mr. Burr dismissed from church, 252; appropriates money for meeting-house, 160.

Sandy beach sold, 89.
Scudder, Henry A., 348.
Sears, Ebenezer, guard over Major Andre, 265; first navigator east of Cape of Good Hope, 265.
Sears, Philip H., 348.
Sears, Richard and David, join English army, 162.
Senators, 365.
Settlement first made on the Cape, 89.
Shaw, Lemuel, 278.
Smith, Capt. John, 16.
Smith, Rev. John, secedes from Barnstable church, 89; leaves Sandwich church, 132.
Soil, 2.
Somerset wrecked, 194.
Sparrowhawk stranded, 33; passengers come to Plymouth, 34; hull exhumed, 34.
Squanto, 18; 29.
Stage coaches, 285.
Stamp act, 166; repealed, 167.
Standish, Miles; makes expedition, 31; deals with Indians, 32; settles land questions, 45; land granted, 61.
State board of agriculture, delegates to, 375, 376.
Stock raising, 64.
Stone, Dr. Thos. N., 344.
Sturgis, Wm., 279.
Succanessett [see Falmouth].
Sunday observance, 73.
Superior court at Barnstable, 155.
Swift, Chas. F., 344.
Swift, Frances E., 344.

Taylor, Samuel, 271.
Taxing colonies, 166.
Tea controversy; Cape towns' attitude, 171.
Telegraph and cables, 288.
Thacher, Anthony, grantee of Yarmouth, 44; shipwrecked, 36.
Thacher, George, 262.
Thanksgiving first held, 50.
Thoreau, 352.
Thornton, Thomas, 83; 330.
Tragedy on high seas, 180.
Treat, Rev. Samuel, died, 161; 330.
Tripp, Prof. Alonzo, 345.
Truro: Company raised for defence of the town, 212; attitude in tea controversy, 170; 171; feeling against whigs, 173; woods burned, 305.
Tupper, Elisha, Indian missionary, 233.
Tupper, Thos., 328.

Underwood, Rev. Nathan, 266.
Union of Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies, 129.
Unwelcome residents excluded, 39; 41.

Verrazzano, 10.
Vessel cast away near Manomet bay, 59.
Vessels hauled up during Revolutionary War, 188.
Vessel seized, 88.

War of Rebellion, expense of county, 276.
War of 1812-15: Sentiment of county, 236; 239.
War preparations, 57.
Warren, Mercy, 340.
Weeks, Capt. Zenas, 348.
Wellfleet: Methodist society organized, 233; railroad, 305.
West, Dr. Samuel, 226; 340.
Whale captured, 271.
Whales, 20; drift controversy, 77.
Whaling, 318; towns engaged, 319; pursued at various places, 319; decline, 320; disposition of drift whales, 159.
Whigs, feeling against, 173.
White, Peregrine, born, 27.
Wild beasts, 6.
Winslow, Josias, succeeds Gov. Prence, 87; character, etc., 122.
Wittawamet plots against Standish, 31; head as a trophy, 32.
Wolves, bounty on, 88; 132.
Women's education, 72.
Woods, 2.
Wrecks: Gen. Arnold, 194; Jason, 302; Salem ships, 224; Friendship, 211; Wilkes, 212; America, 212; Commerce, 271; Cambria, 271; Eagle, 271; Ajax, 272; Granite, 272; Fortuna, 309; Jonathan Bourne, 309; Giovanni, 305; Nelson Harvey, 308.

Yarmouth settled, 43; readjustment of boundary, 57; common lands, 142; troops in siege of Louisburg, 150; in Revolutionary War, 179; at Dorchester Heights, 183; sentiment regarding War of 1812-15, 238; two hundred and fif-

tieth anniversary, 300; wharf destroyed, 272; Mashantampaine complained of, 88; controversy with Sachem Yanno, 88; town records burned, 120; men complained of as scoffers and jeerers at religion, 60; eastern part set off, 161; Rev. Greenleaf dismissed from church, 161; Ebenezer Taylor imprisoned in a well, 161; Ichabod Paddock goes to Nantucket to teach them how to kill whales, 132; small pox, 212; New Church society dedicate church, 304; society for prevention of intemperance, 270; Congregational meeting-house and Public Library dedicated, 305.

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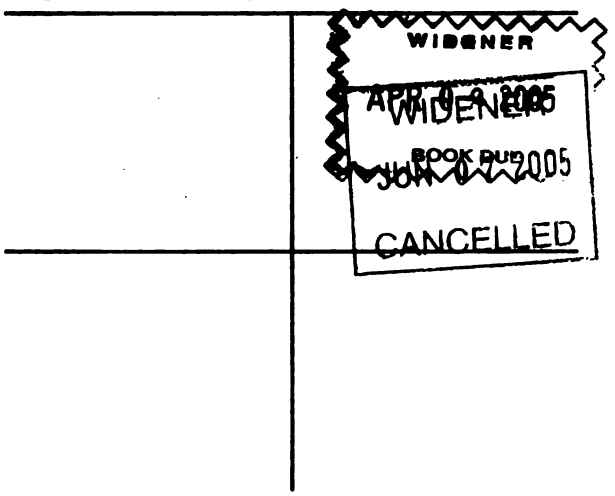

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